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L. MARIA CHILD, Editor. | Without Concealment-----Without Compromise. | DAVID LEE CHILD, Assistant Editor.

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OLIVER JOHNSON, PRINTER.

Selections.

ADDRESS

Of the Baptist Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Waterbury, on the 29th and 30th of September, 1841.*

TO THE BAPTISTS OF VERMONT:

Beloved Brethren:—We address you on an important subject. We are not "men of one idea."—But there is one idea that is a weighty one with us. Or rather, there is one subject—that which has called us together at this time—which impresses us weightily with many ideas, some of which we now beg leave to communicate.

We commence with the *entire sinfulness of slavery*—that system whose legitimate work it is, to seize on creatures made in the image of God, and by the Maker's hand crowned with glory and honor, and placed but a little lower than the angels, and cast them down among four-footed beasts and creeping things, to be treated as other merchandise of the earth. We hold that this system is sinful, and only sinful, continually, and under all possible circumstances. We deny that human beings can rightfully be made merchandise, either by seizure, purchase, or entailment. We affirm that it is shockingly impious, and monstrously unnatural, on the part of the aggressor, to sustain the relation for a moment.—What is most wonderful in regard to this monster, is, that it should ever have found a resting-place for the sole of its foot in the *Church*. But so it is.—The Church, calling itself by the name of Him whose great command touching our duty to our fellow was, "thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," has thrown wide open its doors, and given entrance, entertainment, and protection, to this dreadful devourer, that feeds and fattens on the souls of men. Thus much, principally in the shape of declaration, we deem to be sufficient to say to Baptists in Vermont on this point. This idea has been set forth in this place, not so much on its own account by itself, as for the relation it bears to other things which will appear hereafter.

Another idea with us is, that wherever there are *sins*, there are also *sinners*. There are those who hold, or profess to, that *slavery* is the vilest sin the sun ever saw; and yet, at the same time, hold and treat *slaveholders* as very good and Christian men! We cannot see the consistency of such doctrines.—We call those sinners, who commit sins—and treat them accordingly. To say there has been thieving, and no thief—that there has been robbing, and yet no robber—that there has been murder, and yet no murderer, is a way of using language, to which we are not accustomed. And we doubt exceedingly whether, barely for the accommodation of the "*delicate* subject" we are now meddling with, the world of mankind will consent to carry out such a mode of using language into general practice. It is true, that, for the sake of proscribing the cause of freedom, many other valuable things have been thrust down, and made to suffer proscription with it. But we do not believe that there is yet a preparedness, exactly, when this, that, or the other capital felony has been committed, to let it pass off, and say there has been no felon.

Again—It is plain that the magnitude of the sinner's criminality is in proportion to the enormity of the offense he commits, the amount of light he enjoys, and the power he possesses to do harm by example and influence. That is, if it be a great crime to rob a man of his *farm*, it is an infinitely greater crime to rob him of his *wife and children*, or of *himself*. And if it be highly sinful in ignorant and degraded Africans to make merchandise of each other at home, and more sinful for sordid Spaniards to make merchandise of them on the ocean, it is incalculably more sinful for enlightened, professing Christians to do the same thing in the United States. And furthermore, if it be flagrantly sinful in the common people of a Christian community to do these things, it is incomparably more sinful for the religious guides and teachers of that community to do them, or to teach that they may be done. These are common-sense views. There is no extravagance in them—no distortion—no obliquity.

Now, the reason why these despoiler's of God's image, these robbers of earthly interests, these destroyers of souls, are not seen in their true light, and treated accordingly, is, that the diabolical work is in the *Church!* And the reason why it is in the Church is, that it is sanctioned and sustained by human law. The Church, which is looked up to as a standard of morality, is corrupt enough to take for *its* standard in this matter, the law of the land, rather than the law of God. And the law of the land is made by the party interested—the criminals before God themselves. What, then, is to be done? What, but for the Church to adopt a new and better standard—or rather re-adopt the old one, which has been abandoned? It is nothing to the purpose to tell us that slavery is a *political* matter, a *creature of law*; and to undertake to reason from that, that the Church has nothing to do with it—that it is to be left to the State. We ask, who are the makers of the laws? Who, more than Church members themselves? Is this abomination *forced* upon the Church? Not at all. What part of the slaveholding Church asks for its removal? The truth is, slaveholding, and the laws regulating it, have a common origin in human selfishness. Laws are but indices to the sentiments and interests of those who make them, or cause them to be made. In order to there being corrupt laws, there must first be corrupt law makers. The whole mischief comes, then, from the corruptness of selfish hearts. And whose province is it to labor for the heart's renovation?—Is this a work to be left to the *State?* Is it not preeminently a work belonging to the *Church?* Shall the purifying of the Church be left to the action of the State? Suppose that adultery and murder should find way into the State, and through the statute books into the Church. Must they be allowed to stand in the latter until removed by the former? To do thus, would be to set up the State, instead of the Church, as the "salt of the earth," and "the light of the world."

But we are told that the removal of this villany from the Church and the world, is to be left to the progress of holiness, which is to be carried forward by preaching the gospel. And how long will it take for *such* a gospel as has been preached on this subject for two centuries past, to accomplish the work? It is a gospel that slavery feeds and fattens upon. Do not the southern churches make as stout pretensions as any to the purity, power, and efficacy of their gospel preaching? Do they not abound with revivals and converts? And is not their soundness in these matters generally conceded to? Have they not been abundantly helped on in this pious course by all those who are too holy to trouble the Church or the world with such heresies as that "God hath made of one blood all nations of men"—that we are to "remember them that are in bonds as bound with them"—and that we are to love our neighbor as ourselves, and do to others as we would have others do to us? And what are the fruits of these doings? What has been accomplished for the perishing slave? His chains have been made stronger, the prison-house higher, and the heart of his oppressor harder.

But the churches, we are told, are independent bodies, and above and beyond all foreign control.—Very true—each church is independent of all others, and accountable only to God. But are churches above being preached to? And is it nothing to one church, that there is sin in another? Individuals are as independent of each other, as churches can be. And is it nothing to one individual, that another one is in a flagrant sin? Is not sin a common enemy, to be assailed wherever it appears? "Have we not all one Father? hath not one God created us? why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother?" Are we not all made in one image? "In the image of God created he him." In the creation there is made a chord to run from each human heart to all the other hearts in the great family. He who benumbs his sensibilities against the touch of this string, does essential violence to his own nature, at the same time he wrongs every individual of the great common brotherhood. To do this suicidal and fratricidal thing, it is not necessary to go forth assailants and aggressors. We only need to *neglect* to obey the promptings of nature, reason, and religion. It is true that those who only "passed by on the other side," did not at that time do with their hands what he had done who asked, "am I my brother's keeper?" But their practices agreed exactly with his words, in tone, temper, and effect. And no thanks to them if the results of their conduct were not precisely the same as the results of his. "Inasmuch as ye did it NOT" * * * ye "shall go away into everlasting punishment." "Thou shalt in any wise rebuke thy neighbor, and not suffer sin upon him." The spirit of the scriptures cited in this connection is as applicable to the independent churches as to independent individuals. The opposite doctrine is one which no church will attempt to carry out. Passing by the nearer association of two individual churches, situated contiguously, let us see what would be done with some matters between the collective bodies of churches in two separate States. Suppose the churches in New Hampshire were in the habit of indulging drunkenness in their members? Suppose that drunkenness were as common a thing in the churches there, as slaveholding is at the South. Would the plea be heard, that the churches in Vermont have nothing to do about it? Would the interchange be kept up between conventions, associations, pulpits, and communion tables, without remonstrance on the part of the churches in Vermont? If it should be, should not we be "partakers of their evil deeds?"

We have already said that slavery is tolerated in the Church, because it is not made odious by the prohibitions of human law. Let us take this bundle of villanies in pieces, single out a few of them, one by one, separate them from slavery, so that they may be made to stand out in their native ugliness, in the form of felonies, and see what church would tolerate any one of them, for a moment. As we unroll the bundle, suppose we take out *theft*. Now, if a church member steal a horse, a sheep, or a bushel of corn, what church will not make the offense a disciplinable affair at once? Well, how much more is a man worth than all these paltry articles put together? Again—take robbery, adultery, or murder. What church will tolerate either of them? But take them all, and all the other legitimate fruits of slavery, wrap them up carefully together, and, instead of labelling them *a bundle of felonies*, write on them that delicate, inoffensive word, *slavery*—otherwise, "mischief framed by a law"—and they at once become a thing quite tolerable, altogether consistent with Christian character! We know of no scripture authority for such doings.

But we are told that if we persist in entertaining such views, and carry them into practice, the Church will be divided. We cannot help it. Better that it be divided, than that the whole be lost. We throw the responsibility where it belongs. Let those who cling to their sins, and those who give countenance to the sinners, see to it. We do not believe that every thing should be sacrificed to union. Our motto is, *truth and righteousness first*—union afterwards. In the words of a resolution already adopted by this convention, we hold that when the majority becomes corrupt, the adage, that "union is strength," ceases to be true—that then division becomes strength. As witnesses to this point, we would cite Gideon, Elijah, Martin Luther, Roger Williams, and a host of other reformers, in all ages, who have put their trust in the Lord, and have thus in their weakness been made strong, and have waxed valiant in fight against sin. Baptists are the wrong class to express alarm about division. A cardinal doctrine with them is, independence of the churches, and individual responsibility. They are the greatest separatists in the world. In this, they are the most republican and the most primitively Christian sect in existence. Far, far off be the day when Baptists shall be *united* in covering up sin. "He that covereth his sins shall not prosper: but whoso confesseth and forsaketh them, shall have mercy." The church that will be disturbed and divided with cardinal truths, ought to be disturbed and divided. But the *cause* of the division is not the preaching of the truth. Truth is never divided against itself. Let those who so much deprecate division, go about removing the *cause* of the division—the troubler of Israel. Let the Achan be cast forth from the camp. We love union. But we are not among the blind devotees who fall down and worship, as often as this word is pronounced in our hearing. We would be rational, and consistent, and scriptural in this, as in other things. "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath Christ with Belial?" "Wherefore, come out from among them, and be separate, saith the Lord, *and touch not the unclean thing;* and I will receive you, and will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

But we must not judge our brethren, we are told. We must be charitable and forbearing. There are other sins, as well as the sins of slaveholding. We have nothing to do by way of entering the hearts of men. We do not employ ourselves to ascertain how far men may live in the constant violation of God's fundamental laws, and yet be His obedient children. The rule which we take, is, "Ye shall know them by their fruits." This rule is of high authority, and meddles with tangible things. It takes hold of the *conduct*. This is what we do, leaving the heart to God. And we have never known or heard of any different method of proceeding among our brethren. We suppose they proceed against offenders, on their *conduct*. And why is this a more reprehensible thing in us, than in them? Why should not those who proceed against inebriation be censured for judging and entering into the heart, in thus doing, as well as they who proceed against oppression? If there be one sin against which the Bible has more denunciations and anathemas than against any other, it is the sin of oppression. The passages are too numerous to be quoted or referred to here. The Levitical law was—"Thou shalt not defraud thy neighbor, neither rob him." The denunciation, by the mouth of the prophet, against such as violate this law, runs thus: "Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work." The Saviour's law, touching the point, is affirmative, and strong. He requires us, not only not to oppress, or in any manner hate our brother, but He says: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The apostle, in censuring those who fail to fulfill this royal law, comes very near laying open the heart. It is the beloved disciple who speaks, on whose tongue the law of kindness always dwelt. His rebuke brings on the face of it the evidence that his heart is a fountain of love. His language runs thus: "If a man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar: for he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?"—And again—"Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother hath need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" * * * * "Let us not love in word, neither in tongue; but in *deed and in truth*." Here we find ourselves brought around again to the *fruits*—the *conduct*. And the rule that requires us to *love*, of course forbids us to *oppress*, inasmuch as the *lesser* includes the *greater*. Our reply to those who say that there are *other sins*, as well as the sin of slavery, is, that no other sin, of the same magnitude, or that could be mentioned the same day with it, is tolerated in the Church. If there be, then there are two millstones about her neck, instead of one. The difference in the conduct of the Church towards this sin and towards others, is, that others are required to be repented of and forsaken, while this, one of the foulest that fills earth with anguish, and perdition with souls, is granted full toleration.

Again—It is said that if we suspend fellowship and co-operation with slaveholders and their abettors, we drive them away beyond our reach, and they will not hear us. Do not those who bring this objection fail to distinguish properly between *suspending Christian fellowship*, and *cutting off human sympathy?* Want of discrimination here might easily come in, by an association of ideas, from existing practices. There is too much cutting off of human sympathy in church discipline. It should never be done. It is unnatural, as well as unchristian. God has not required such a thing at our hands, but the reverse. We should cultivate continually a yearning of soul after transgressors, that would cause us to pursue them and hold on upon them, with entreaties and motives to return into the ways of truth and holiness. Peradventure we may thus save souls from death. In order to do this work, of winning souls back, successfully, it is necessary to suspend Christian fellowship. Otherwise, where is the cause for *labor?* When the labor commences, the suspension of fellowship commences of course. What we do, then, in the case of slaveholders and their abettors is, to tell them in all Christian fidelity that we suspend Christian fellowship until they repent. We cannot allow them to join with us in religious worship, nor in the use of means for the conversion of the world. At the same time they are to understand that we pursue them with prayers, and entreaties, and open arms, to their graves, unless they forsake their ungodliness. If it be said that they will not hear us, we reply that this doctrine carried out will call home every missionary, shut up every pulpit, and stop every press, now in operation for evangelizing the world. We learn from the scriptures of truth, that it is our duty, our divinely-appointed work, to preach the word which God bids us, even to the stiff-necked and rebellious, whether they will hear or forbear. This refusal to co-operate with them is not to be taken as a withdrawal on our part from the field of benevolent labor. On the contrary, our diligence and efficiency are to be increased.

Finally—Our course is objected to on account of anticipated disaster to denominational institutions. This objection presents one of the grossest exhibitions of the abominable doctrine, that the end justifies the means. The gospel must be preached to the poor, the Bible given to the destitute, and the heathen be converted to God—*therefore* we must continue in Christian fellowship and co-operation with those who violently wrest the gospel from the poor, and the Bible from the destitute, and themselves *make* heathen systematically, by law and every-day practice!—whose means for making a show of benevolence are obtained by robbing the poor, starving souls, and selling the image of Jesus Christ! It is not that we love and care for the heathen and the destitute less than others; but that we do not see the necessity—and, what is more, we do not admit the Christian consistency, or the right, of co-operation with those who employ the fruits of unrighteousness. We cannot, if we would, hide from the Searcher of hearts, the monstrous hypocrisy of robbing the poor at home to supply the poor abroad—of making heathen in the United States to procure the means of *un*making heathen in Asia—of selling the image of Christ for money to be used in converting men into Christ's image. "He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see? He that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? He that teacheth man knowledge, shall not he know?" "If thou forbear to deliver them that are drawn unto death, and those that are ready to be slain; if thou sayest, behold, we knew it not; doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? and he that keepeth thy soul, doth he not know it? and shall not he render to every man according to his works?" And not only is this iniquitous work exposed to the omnipresent eye of Jehovah, but it cannot always be kept from the heathen world. The humiliating intelligence has already gone forth, and the deserved rebuff has already commenced returning into our faces. And what shall we do or say, when those to whom we proffer the remedy for sin, retort upon us,—"physician, heal thyself"—go home and do away with your own heathenism, made and fashioned by your own Christian hand, and then we will talk with you about surrendering ours. O, must we not "blush, and hang our heads" with shame?

But our opponents are very sure that God has used these institutions, imperfect as they may be, as instruments for saving the souls of men. Granted. And what if God has carried forward some of his work by such instrumentalities as he could get. This does not prove that he is not entitled to *better* ones. Nor does it prove that, on our part, we should waste our own energies, and subject ourselves to the rebuke of the world and the curse of God, for the sake of being co-workers with sinners. The doctrine which we are now refuting does not come well from the mouths of seceders from the American Bible Society. Was it not abundantly claimed by the adherents to that society, and conceded by those who withdrew, that that institution came up, and went forward, and prospered, under the fostering hand of God? But this was not a good and sufficient reason, with Baptists, why they should remain connected with it? They withdrew for purification, that they might be more efficient—especially that they might be free from what they viewed to be the errors and sins of others. For these reasons we withdraw from co-operation with slaveholders and their supporters. And it is our conviction that we do this for causes infinitely greater, and for reasons incomparably better, than actuated the separation from the American Bible Society. And our Baptist brethren assure us, and give the proof, that so far has the *division*, and the organization of the American and Foreign Bible Society been from injuring or weakening the cause, the funds and the efficiency are incalculably increased. We confidently predict such a result from the measures we are taking. There are many Baptist abolitionists who have for a long time had conscientious scruples on this subject. These scruples, we have reason to believe, have to a considerable extent lessened contributions hitherto. A gush of benevolence, if we have received right impressions, is waiting for channels to flow in.

We close with a word to such as may not have been aware, hitherto, that their co-operation with slaveholders, in matters of benevolence, has made them to be "partakers in their evil deeds." Now, suppose slavery were out of the way—that instead of the Baptist church in the southern States being full of a system whose legitimate fruits are robbery, theft, adultery, murder, and heathenism, it were full of any one of these sins. Could there be co-operation, in works of benevolence, with those whose contributions to the common treasury were the fruits of robbing neighbors of their bread, stealing horses or sheep, keeping brothels, selling poison to their neighbors, or wresting Bibles and other books and means of intelligence from their neighbors' children, to the destruction of their intellects and their souls, and still no participation in their guilt? We beseech our brethren not to continue to pursue a course which they will in the end have to look back upon with regret and in anguish of spirit.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That all Baptist papers in the world, and as many others as are friendly to the objects of this convention, be requested to publish our proceedings.

O. S. MURRAY, *for Committee*

* This address was unanimously adopted by the convention.

"WAR AND PEACE."

A NEW WORK BY JUDGE JAY.

Great Britain claimed the right of raising a revenue from her colonies by taxation, and made war upon them for the purpose of collecting this revenue. The colonies, on the one hand, took arms to establish, not their independence as a distinct nation, but simply their exemption from taxation by the British parliament, instead of their own colonial legislatures. To human view, the contest was unequal; and the successs of the mother country beyond a doubt. Yet in her attempt to extort a few thousand pounds from her feeble and defenseless colonies, she drew upon herself a seven years' war, in which she found the power of France, Spain, and Holland, arrayed against her; and after sacrificing, as is estimated, 200,000 of her subjects, and adding £103,000,000 to her national debt, she was compelled to purchase peace by the severance of her empire. Had she condescended to limit her demand on the colonies, and to offer equivalent privileges and immunities, her blood and her treasure would have been spared, and her power would have been augmented instead of being impaired.

But it may be said, that however disastrous may have been this war for Great Britain, it was glorious and happy for the colonies. Let it however be recollected, that this glory and happiness consisted, not in exemption from British taxation, (the sole object of the war on the part of the colonies,) but in the establishment of a great confederated republic; an incident of the war, *as unwished for as it was unexpected.** Had the war been continued by the colonies, as it commenced, only in resistance to British taxation, and had the peace of 1783 guaranteed them from all future taxation by parliament, the object for which they had appealed to arms would have been obtained, and we may fairly ask if they would would not have obtained it at a price incalculably beyond its value? Let us endeavor to form some estimate of the amount of taxation which the colonies imposed upon themselves, rather than pay the stamp and other duties claimed by Great Britain. It appears from official documents, that as early as September, 1779, the money borrowed by Congress for carrying on the war, independent of the proceeds of taxes, amounted to $197,682,985; other and large loans, it is well known, were afterwards made both at home and abroad. If to the amount expended by Congress, we add the contributions of the several States, and the losses sustained by individuals, we cannot resist the conviction that the *mere interest* of the aggregate sum would greatly exceed any taxes the British ministry had ever contemplated imposing upon the colonies.

But pecuniary disbursements formed, as usual, but a secondary item in the cost of the war. The slaughter of their fellow-citizens,† the capture of their cities, the devastation of large portions of their country, together with the depreciation of morals always consequent on a long war, are to be included in the price paid by our fathers for their exemption from British taxation. And can we doubt that Britain would have rejoiced to have sold that exemption at a trifle, compared with what we actually paid for it? And what an accumulation of human misery would such a contract have prevented! To the colonies it would have secured, without a groan, all the independence they desired: and to England, and to Europe, it would have saved the lives and happiness of multitudes.

A later period of our history furnishes a still more striking illustration of the imprudence of resorting to war, as a mode of redressing injuries. In 1812, the United States declared war against Great Britain, on account of certain orders in council destructive of neutral commerce; and also on account of the right claimed and exercised by Great Britain, of impressing her native subjects from the merchant vessels of other nations when on the high seas. The obnoxious orders were revoked before the news of the war reached England, and the contest was continued solely on account of impressment.‡

The greatest number of American seamen ever officially alledged to have been compulsorily in the British navy, was about 800. To suppress this abuse, the United States drew the sword, and formally threw away the scabbard; and the honor of the republic was pledged again and again to rescue her seamen from this oppressive claim on the part of Great Britain.§

* As this assertion will startle many, and is in direct contradiction to the annual declarations of 4th of July orators, and others who are fond of representing our fathers as resorting to arms for the purpose of establishing a republic, it may not be amiss to correct the prevailing error on this subject, by an appeal to indisputable authorities.

The Congress of 1774, specified the acts of parliament which infringed upon the rights of the colonies; and in their petition to the king, after setting forth their grievances, remarked, "these sentiments are extorted from hearts that would much more willingly *bleed in your Majesty's service*—we wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor: your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain."

The Congress of 1775, after the commencement of hostilities, and the capture by the colonists of the fortress of Ticonderoga, ordered an inventory of the royal stores taken in the fort to be made, in order that they might be returned "when the restoration of the former harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, so *ardently wished for by the latter*, should render it prudent and consistent with the overruling law of self-preservation."

After organizing the army, and making every preparation for war, Congress published a declaration in which they affirm: "We mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. *Necessity* has not yet driven us into that desperate measure: we have not raised armies with ambitious designs of *separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states.*"

But the pertinacity of the British ministry prevented the colonists from laying down their arms, and they soon found it impossible to use them with efficiency in the character of loyal subjects; and *hence* the necessity which, in 1776, drove them into the "desperate measure" of a declaration of independence. The New-York convention, on receiving this declaration, resolved, "that while we lament the *cruel necessity* which has rendered this measure unavoidable, we approve the same, &c."

Should it be pretended that these official asseverations were hypocritical, and the subterfuges of state policy, we appeal to the following testimonies:

"I never heard in any conversation from any person, drunk or sober, the least expression of a wish for separation, or a hint that such a thing would be advantageous to America."—*Dr. Franklin in* 1775.

"During the course of my life, and until *after* the second petition of Congress in 1775, I never did hear any American express a wish for the independence of the colonies."—*John Jay.*

"That there existed a general desire of independence of the crown in any part of America before the revolution, is as far from truth as the zenith is from the nadir. For my own part, there was not a moment during the revolution, when I would not have given every thing I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have had a sufficient security for its continuance."—*John Adams.*

"Before the commencement of hostilities, I never had heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from Great Britain; and after that, its possibility was contemplated with affliction by all."—*Thomas Jefferson.*

† The militia and regular troops called into service during the revolutionary war, were 287,954 men.

‡ Immediately on the receipt in America of the intelligence that the orders in council had been repealed, the British commanders proposed a suspension of hostilities, presuming that as one prominent cause of the war was removed, peace might be restored. But the cabinet of Washington would listen to no accommodation. "As a principal object of the war is to obtain redress against the British practice of impressment," said the Secretary of State, "an agreement to suspend hostilities, even before the British government is heard from on the subject, might be considered a relinquishment of that claim.—*American State Papers vol.* 8, *p*, 333.

§ "The impressment of our seamen," say the committee of foreign relations in 1813, "being deservedly considered a principal cause of the war, the war ought to be prosecuted until that cause is removed. To appeal to arms in defense of a right, and to lay them down again without securing it, or a satisfactory evidence of a good disposition in the opposite party to secure it, would be considered in no other light than a relinquishment of it. War having been declared, and the case of impressment being necessarily included as one of the most important causes, it is evident that it must be provided for in the pacification; *the omission of it in a treaty of peace, would not leave it on its former ground; it would in effect be an absolute relinquishment; an idea at which the feelings of every American must revolt.*"—*American State Papers, vol.* 8. *p.* 429.

In the negotiations for peace, the relinquishment by Great Britain of the right of impressment was made a *sine qua non*. "Your first duty will be to conclude a peace with Great Britain, and you are authorized to do it, *in case* you obtain a satisfactory stipulation against impressment, one which shall secure under our flag protection to the crew. If this encroachment of Great Britain is not provided against, the *United States have appealed to arms in vain*. If your efforts to accomplish it should fail, all further negotiations will cease, and you will return home without delay." *Instructions to American Commissioners.—American State Papers vol.* 8, *p.* 577.

In a subsequent letter of instructions it is intimated to the commissioners that the treaty should secure wages from the British government to all American impressed seamen who *shall be discharged under the treaty!*

MR. WEBSTER AND THE CREOLE CASE.

In the Senate, on Monday, a message was received from the President, transmitting a report from the Secretary of State in relation to the Creole case; which report comprised a copy of the following letter from the Secretary of State to our Minister at London.

MR. WEBSTER TO MR. EVERETT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, Jan. 29th, 1842.

EDWARD EVERETT, Esq. &c. &c.

Sir—I regret to be obliged to acquaint you with a very serious occurrence, which recently took place in a port of one of the Bahama islands.

It appears that the brig "Creole," of Richmond, Virginia, Insor, master, bound to New Orleans, sailed from Hampton Roads, on the 27th of October last, with a cargo of merchandise, principally tobacco, and slaves; (about 135 in number)—that on the evening of the 7th of November, some of the slaves rose upon the crew of the vessel, murdered a passenger, named Hewell, who owned some of the negroes, wounded the captain dangerously, and the first mate and two of the crew severely; that the slaves soon obtained complete possession of the brig, which, under their direction, was taken into the port of Nassau, in the island of New Providence, where she arrived on the morning of the 9th of the same month; that at the request of the American consul in that place, the Governor ordered a guard on board, to prevent the escape of the mutineers, and with a view to an investigation of the circumstances of the case; that such investigation was accordingly made by two British magistrates, and that an examination also took place by the consul; that on the report of the magistrates, nineteen of the slaves were imprisoned by the local authorities, as having been concerned in the mutiny and murder, and their surrender to the consul, to be sent to the United States for trial for these crimes, was refused, on the ground that the Governor wished first to communicate with the government in England on the subject; that through the interference of the colonial authorities, and even before the military guard was removed, the greater number of the remaining slaves were liberated, and encouraged to go beyond the power of the master of the vessel, or the American consul, by proceedings which neither of them could control. This is the substance of the case, as stated in two protests, one made at Nassau, and one at New Orleans, and the consul's letters, together with sundry depositions taken by him, copies of which papers are herewith transmitted.

The British government cannot but see that this case, as presented in these papers, is one calling loudly for redress. The "Creole" was passing from one port of the United States to another, in a voyage perfectly lawful, with merchandise on board, and also with slaves, or persons bound to service, natives of America, and belonging to American citizens, and which are recognized as property by the Constitution of the United States, in those States in which slavery exists. In the course of the voyage, some of the slaves rose upon the master and crew, subdued them, murdered one man, and caused the vessel to be carried into Nassau. The vessel was thus taken to a British port, not voluntarily by those who had the lawful authority over her, but forcibly and violently, against the master's will, and with the consent of nobody but the mutineers and murderers; for there is no evidence that these outrages were committed with the concurrence of any of the slaves, except those actually engaged in them. Under these circumstances, it would have been the plain and obvious duty of the authorities at Nassau, the port of a friendly power, to assist the American consul in putting an end to the captivity of the master and crew, restoring to them the control of the vessel, and enabling them to resume their voyage, and to take the mutineers and murderers to their own country, to answer for their crimes before the proper tribunal. One cannot conceive how any other course could justly be adopted, or how the duties imposed by that part regulating the intercourse of friendly States, which is generally called the comity of nations, could otherwise be fulfilled. Here was no violation of British law attempted or intended on the part of the master of the "Creole," nor any infringement of the law of nations.

The vessel was lawfully engaged in passing from port to port, in the United States. By violence and crime she was carried, against the masters's will, out of her course, into the port of a friendly power. All was the result of force. Certainly, ordinary comity and hospitality entitled him to such assistance from the authorities of the place as should enable him to resume and prosecute his voyage and bring the offenders to justice. But instead of this, if the facts be as represented in these papers, not only did the authorities give no aid for any such purpose, but they did actually interfere to set free the slaves, and to enable them to disperse themselves beyond the reach of the master of the vessel or their owners. A proceeding like this cannot but cause deep feeling in the United States. It has been my purpose to write you at length upon this subject, in order that you might lay before the government of her Majesty fully, and without reserve, the views entertained upon it in the United States, and the grounds on which those views are taken.—But the early return of the packet precludes the opportunity of going thus into the case in this despatch; and as Lord Ashburton may shortly be expected here, it may be better to enter fully into it with him, if his powers shall be broad enough to embrace it. Some knowledge of the case will have reached England before his departure, and very probably his government may have given him instructions. But I request, nevertheless, that you lose no time in calling Lord Aberdeen's attention to it in a general manner, and giving him a narrative of the transaction, such as may be framed from the papers now communicated, with a distinct declaration that if the facts turn out as stated, this government thinks it a clear case for indemnification.

You will see that in his letter of the 7th January, 1837, to Mr. Stevenson, respecting the claim for compensation in the cases of the "Comet," "Encomium," and "Enterprise," Lord Palmerston says that "Her Majesty's government is of opinion that the rule by which these claims should be decided is, that those claimants must be considered entitled to compensation who were lawfully in possession of their slaves within the British territory, and who were disturbed in their legal possession of these slaves by functionaries of the British government." This admission is broad enough to cover the case of the Creole, if circumstances are correctly stated. But it does not extend to what we consider the true doctrine, according to the laws and usages of nations; and, therefore, cannot be acquiesced in as the exactly correct general rule. It appears to this government that not only is no unfriendly intercourse by the local authorities to be allowed, but that aid and succor should be extended in these, as in other cases which may arise, affecting the interests of citizens of friendly States.

We know no ground on which it is just to say that these colored people had come within, and were within British territory, in such sense as that the laws of England affecting and regulating the condition of persons could properly act upon them. As has been already said, they were not there voluntarily; no human being belonging to the vessel was within British territory of his own accord, except the mutineers. There being no importation, nor intent of importation, what right had the British authorities to inquire into the cargo of the vessel, or the condition of the persons on board? These persons might be slaves for life; they might be slaves for a term of years, under a system of apprenticeship; they might be bound to service by their own voluntary act; they might be in confinement for crimes committed; they might be prisoners of war; or they might be free. How could the British authorities look into and decide any of these questions? Or, indeed, what duty or power, according to the principles of national intercourse, had they to inquire at all? If, indeed, without unfriendly intercourse, and notwithstanding all their duties of comity and assistance, by these authorities, the master of the vessel could not retain the persons, nor prevent their escape, then it would be a different question altogether, whether resort could be had to British tribunals, or the power of the government in any of its branches, to compel their apprehension and restoration. No one complains that English law shall decide the condition of all persons actually incorporated with British population, unless there be treaty stipulation making other provision for special cases. But in the case of the "Creole," the colored persons were still on board an American vessel, that vessel having been forcibly put out of the course of her voyage by mutiny; the master desiring still to resume it, and calling upon the consul of his government resident at the place, and upon the local authorities to enable him so to do, by freeing him from the imprisonment to which mutiny and murder had subjected him, and furnishing him with such necessary aid and assistance as are usual in ordinary cases of disaster at sea. These persons, then, cannot be regarded as being mixed with the British people, or as having changed their character at all, either in regard to country or personal condition. It was no more than just to consider the vessel as still on her voyage, and entitled to the succor due to other cases of distress, whether arising from accident or outrage. And that no other view of the subject can be true, is evident from the very awkward position in which the local authorities have placed their government in respect to the mutineers still held in imprisonment. What is to be done with them? How are they to be punished? The English government will probably not undertake their trial or punishment; and of what use would it be to send them to the United States, separated from their ship, and at a period so late as that, if they should be sent, before proceedings could be instituted against them the witnesses might be scattered over half the globe. One of the highest offenses known to human laws is thus likely to go altogether unpunished.

In the note of Lord Palmerson to Mr. Stevenson, above referred to, his Lordship said, "that slavery being now abolished throughout the British empire, there can be no well-founded claim for compensation in respect to slaves who, under any circumstances, may come into the British colonies, any more than there would be with respect to slaves who might be brought into the kingdom." I have only to remark upon this that the government of the United States sees no ground for any distinction founded on an alteration of British law in the colonies. We do not consider that the question depends at all on the state of British law. It is not that in such cases the active agency of British law is invoked and refused; it is, that unfriendly interference is deprecated, and those good offices and friendly assistances expected, which a government usually affords to citizens of a friendly power when instances occur of disaster and distress. All that the United States require, in these cases, they would expect in the ports of England, as well as in those of her colonies. Surely, the influence of local law cannot affect the relations of nations in any such matter as this. Suppose an American vessel, with slaves lawfully on board, were to be captured by a British cruiser, as belonging to some belligerent, while the United States were at peace; suppose such prize carried into England, and the neutrality of the vessel fully made out in the proceedings in Admiralty, and a restoration consequently decreed—in such case, must not the slaves be restored exactly in the condition in which they were when the capture was made?—Would any one contend that the fact of their having been carried to England by force set them free?

No alteration of her own local laws can either increase or diminish, or in any way affect, the duty of the English government and its colonial authorities in such cases, as such duty exists according to law, the comity, and the usages of nation. The persons on board the "Creole" could only have been regarded as Americans passing from one part of the United States to another, within the reach of British authority only for the moment, and this only by force and violence. To seek to give either to persons or property thus brought within reach an English character, or to impart to either English privileges, or to subject either to English burdens or liabilities, cannot, in the opinion of the government of the United States, be justified. Suppose that, by the law of England, all blacks were slaves, and incapable of any other condition; if persons of that color, free in the United States, should, in attempting to pass from one port to another in their own country, be thrown by stress of weather within British jurisdiction, and there detained for an hour or a day, would it be reasonable that British authority should be made to act upon their condition, and to make them slaves? Or suppose that an article of merchandise, opium, for instance, should be declared by the laws of the United States to be a nuisance, a poison, a thing in which no property could lawfully exist or be asserted; and suppose that an English ship with such a cargo on board, bound from one English port to another, should be driven by stress of weather, or by mutiny of the crew, into the ports of the United States, would it be held just and reasonable that such cargo should receive its character from American law, and be thrown overboard and destroyed by the American authorities? It is in vain that any attempt is made to answer these questions by appealing to general principles of humanity. This is a point in regard to which the nations must be permitted to act upon different views, if they entertain different views, under their actual existing condition, and yet hold commercial intercourse with one another, or not hold any such intercourse at all. It may be added, that all attempts by the government of one nation to force the influence of its laws on that of another, for any object whatever, generally defeat their own purposes, by producing dissatisfaction, resentment, and exasperation. Better is it, far better, in all respects, that each nation should be left without interference or annoyance, direct or indirect, to its undoubted right of exercising its own judgment in regard to all things belonging to its domestic interests and domestic duties.

There are two general considerations, of the highest practical importance, to which you will, in the proper manner, invite the attention of her Majesty's government.

The first is, that, as civilization has made pro-

gress in the world, the intercourse of nations has become more and more independent of different forms of government, and different systems of law and religion. It is not now, as it was in ancient times, that every foreigner is considered, therefore, as an enemy; and that, as soon as he comes into the country, he may be lawfully treated as a slave; nor is the modern intercourse of States carried on mainly, or at all, for the purpose of imposing, by one nation or another, new forms of civil government, new rules of property, or new modes of domestic regulation. The great communities of the world are regarded as wholly independent, each entitled to maintain its own system of law and government, while all, in their mutual intercourse, are understood to submit to the established rules and principles governing such intercourse. And the perfecting of this system of communication among nations, requires the strictest application of the doctrine of non-intervention of any with the domestic concerns of others.

The other is, that the United States and England, now by far the two greatest commercial nations in the world, touch each other, both by sea and land, at almost innumerable points, and with systems of general jurisprudence essentially alike, yet differing in the forms of their government and their laws, respecting personal servitude; and that so widely does this last mentioned difference extend its influence, that without the exercise, to the fullest extent, of the doctrines of non-interference and mutual abstinence from anything affecting each other's domestic regulations, the peace of the two countries, and therefore the peace of the world, always will be in danger.

The Bahamas (British possessions) push themselves near to the shores of the United States, and thus lie almost directly in the track of that great part of their coastwise traffic, which, doubling the Cape of Florida, connects the cities of the Atlantic with the ports and harbors on the Gulf of Mexico, and the great commercial emporium on the Mississippi. The seas in which these British possessions are situated, are seas of shallow water, full of reefs and bars, subject to violent action of the winds, and to the agitations caused by the gulf stream. They must always, therefore, be of dangerous navigation, and accidents must be expected frequently to occur, such as will cause American vessels to be wrecked on British islands, or compel them to seek shelter in British ports. It is quite essential that the manner in which such vessels, their crews and cargoes, in whatever such cargoes consist, are to be treated, in these cases of misfortune and distress, should be clearly and fully known.

You are acquainted with the correspondence which took place a few years ago, between the American and English governments, respecting the cases of the Enterprise, the Comet, and the Encomium. I call your attention to the journal of the Senate of the United States, containing resolutions unanimously adopted by that body, respecting those cases.—These resolutions, I believe, have already been brought to the notice of her Majesty's government; but it may be well that both the resolutions themselves, and the debates upon them, should be again adverted to. You will find the resolutions, of course, among the documents regularly transmitted to the Legation, and the debates in the newspapers with which it has been supplied from this department.

You will avail yourself of an early opportunity of communicating to Lord Aberdeen, in the manner which you may deem most expedient, the substance of this despatch; and you will receive farther instructions respecting the case of the Creole, unless it shall become the subject of discussion at Washington.

In all your communications with her Majesty's government, you will seek to impress it with a full conviction of the dangerous importance to the peace of the two countries of occurrences of this kind, and the delicate nature of the questions to which they give rise.

From the New-York American.

MR. WEBSTER AND THE CREOLE.

After reading over and over again this despatch, in order to be fully possessed of its spirit and import, we are yet under the conviction, that a case untenable in itself, and so known to be by Mr. Webster—is argued with a disregard of all just distinctions as to the nature of crime—as well as of the feelings and judgment of the men of the free States, that we were not prepared for.

No one, we apprehend, after this despatch, will be entitled to say, that slavery, and all that belongs to it, is a mere municipal institution—a local interest, which those only have a right to talk about, or interfere with, who live in the midst of it.

Here we have the federal government, putting forth and pledging all its powers to protect slavery—not within the United States—not even within the marine league of our own shores, where, by the usage of nations, the jurisdiction of a State applies—but, on the high seas, and even in the harbor of a nation that does not acknowledge slavery!

Under such circumstances, it is not only a right, but a deep and present interest, for every citizen of the United States, to look well into "the peculiar institution," and to take care, while violating in no jot or tittle his clear obligations under the Constitution, to recognize slavery as, and where it existed when the Constitution was formed, that he do not step beyond the strictest requirements of that character, and make himself a party to the extension of this blighting curse and shame.

The question raised by this despatch, if its claims be adhered to, is none other than, "Peace or War, for the extension and security of the domestic slave trade."

In the solution of this question, every citizen of the United States is interested—and has a right, if so he choose, to raise his voice in discussing it. We propose, therefore, *in limine*, against the usual appeals and menaces from the South, when the North touches the topic of slavery. It is now brought home to *our* business and bosoms, to *our* firesides and bedsides—for we express, without hesitation, the opinion, that no ministry could stand a moment in England, who should consent to regard the self-emancipated slaves of the Creole as murderers and mutineers—and venture to deliver up the leaders to death, or make compensation for those who, by the acts of those leaders, gained their freedom. If war on our part *be* the settled alternative, then, in our judgment, *is war inevitable;* and the united sentiment of all Christendom would be *with* our adversary, and against us, in such an unhallowed contest—a contest repugnant alike to human honor and divine justice.

We speak these things gravely and deliberately; and we ask for them consideration alike grave and deliberate.

Mr. Webster's first ground is, that the Creole having been carried into the British port of Nassau, against the consent of those having lawful authority over her, and by the force exerted by "mutineers and murderers," the authorities of that friendly power were bound by the "comity of nations," not only to "assist the American consul in putting an end to the captivity of the master and crew, and enable them to resume their voyage"—which they did—"but," adds Mr. Webster, "to take the mutineers and murderers to their own country, to answer for their crimes before the proper tribunal."

"Can it be, indeed, true, that the "comity of nations" requires or justifies such an act? We answer the question by an illustration. Suppose a French vessel from *Martinique*, where slavery prevails, while in the act of conveying slaves to some other French colony, were, like the *Creole*, taken possession of by the revolted slaves—the master or supercargo killed, and the vessel brought into the port of New-York, by, or under orders of what the despatch calls "mutineers and murderers"—is there any power in the State or Federal government, by which these men, become free by their own act—could either be delivered up of France or paid for? Is there a "comity of nations" that, overriding our free institutions, and contemning the security which our laws throw around all who come within their jurisdiction, would snatch them from the power of our courts, and the Ægis of our nationality—and deliver them up to torture or to death? If the answer be, as it must, in the negative, how can this government appeal to a comity which, for it does not exist, and by it, within its own limits, could not be enforced?

But again; what was the decision in the case of the Amistad; so similar, in many respects, to that of the Creole? Those revolted Spanish slaves, after "murdering" their owners, were cast upon our shores. Were they demanded by Spain, under "the comity of nations?" No; but under an express treaty stipulation between the United States and Spain—and it was because they could not be legally brought within this stipulation, that the claim was dismissed. Yet they, too, were, in the language of the despatch, "mutineers and murderers"—but the "comity of nations" reached them not.

But there is no such comity of nations, even in cases of clear and unquestioned crime, and where neither the color "incompatible with freedom," nor the anomalous institution of slavery, interferes with a right judgment.

It was by a stipulation in Mr. Jay's treaty, and only in virtue of that stipulation, that the United States and Great Britain, for a time, did agree to a mutual surrender of murderers and felons, (except for political offenses;) but the stipulation was for a limited term of years, and was suffered by both parties to expire without renewal. Since that, in many instances, demands have been made upon this government by the British authorities, for the surrender of felons, and always been refused; thus showing that the treaty stipulation was not, as some have contended, merely declaratory of pre-existing national law, but the law itself, without which no surrender could be made. We specify merely the case of the *Bambers*, some years ago, saved by the direct interposition of the law officers of the general government—after Governor Marcy, under an erroneous impression of duty, had ordered them to be surrendered to the British consul; and the more recent cases of the fugitive murderers and house burners from Canada, whom all honest men would have been too happy to send back to just punishment, but whom, even such as they were, we could not, without law, surrender.

We have thus shown that the United States government does not acknowledge "the comity of nations, to which the despatch appeals; and have thence inferred that, as of general obligation, no such "comity" exists; and that, at any rate, it belongs not to us to invoke its application for our benefit, when we refuse it to others.

We have also shown, by the example of the Martinique slaver, that the fact of the alledged felons being revolted slaves, would, in the port of a free State, make no difference; and having shown thus much, we might almost rest the case here, upon the principle that we can only rightfully ask others to do unto us as we do unto them.

But stress is laid in the despatch upon the fact as reported in the captain's protest, and by the consul at Nassau, that "the authorities of the island did actually interfere to set free the slaves, and to enable them to disperse themselves beyond the reach of the master of the vessel, or their owners; and this is urged as prominent among the reasons that, in the judgment of the American government, constitute this "a clear case for indemnification."

Assuming the facts to be as set forth in this matter, we might be quite ready to agree that such a proceeding on the part of official persons is neither discreet nor friendly, and should subject those concerned in it to animadversion and punishment by their own government; but can it alter the relation in which these revolted slaves stood to the laws of the colony? Can it impair their rights, or in any manner impose responsibility upon them, or take away their remedies? That Great Britain would express regret, that any of her magistrates had interfered officially to induce these colored persons of the Creole to leave the vessel and seek safety and freedom beneath the British flag, may be confidently anticipated, because of the unkind feeling that such interference could not fail to occasion in the United States; but is it to be supposed, that without such interference, the slaves would have remained on board the Creole, and gone voluntarily into the hopeless bondage of Louisiana sugar plantations?

Is it probable, that on an island where there are multitudes of free colored persons, a vessel arriving under such circumstances as the Creole, would not have enlisted all their sympathies and efforts for the liberation and safety of those of their own color?—Are there no abolitionists there ready to sue out a writ of *habeas corpus* in behalf of each one of those colored persons, whom the captain of the vessel, reinstated in his command, might seek to detain? And this brings us to another point made in the despatch, that the authorities of Nassau ought to have aided the officers of the Creole in reclaiming the slaves and carrying them on to their ultimate destination.

Suppose the military guard, which, for a time, held the vessel, had compelled the slaves to submit, and that, when all was ready for departure, the vessel should be boarded by an officer of a court, with a process addressed alike to the British military officer, and the American captain, commanding them to produce before the said court each and all of these colored persons, to the end that inquiry might be made in due course of law, whether they were acting of their own accord, or under what circumstances they were detained—must not that process have been obeyed; and, once within the authority of the court, every one of these people that desired to remain in Nassau, must have been declared entitled to do so?

But the despatch asserts, that because of the violence by which the vessel had been interrupted in her voyage, and carried into Nassau, she was not properly within British jurisdiction, and should still have been considered as on her voyage, "and not subject to any inquiries by the British authorities as to what was her cargo, or what the condition of persons on board."

Such, however, is not, we apprehend, the usage of any country. If a vessel of any nation should put in here to-morrow, either from stress of weather or seized by mutineers, the custom-house would send its officers on board, and report must be made of her cargo, destination, &c.

If, too, while in our harbor, any offense or crime were committed, such as smuggling, or murder, she would be held subject, we imagine, to inquiries by our authorities, and the condition of persons on board would assuredly be verified.

Once within a port, the laws of the country to which it belongs attach, however the vessel may have reached there.

How otherwise can the mutineers of the Texas vessel of war, who recently murdered their lieutenant in the port of New-Orleans, and some of whom have been arrested, be punished? The murder was committed in our waters, and will be punished by our laws.

It seems clear, therefore, that however, on the score of discourtesy and indiscreet officiousness—the alledged voluntary interference of the magistrates "to set free the slaves" may be justly made a subject of complaint, it can in no wise be magnified into a ground for indemnification, much less into one for *War*.

THE IRISH ADDRESS READ AT FANEUIL HALL.

Signed by 60,000 *Irishmen, at the head of whom, were Father Matthew and Daniel O'Connell!*

DEAR FRIENDS:—

You are at a great distance from your native land! A wide expanse of water separates you from the beloved country of your birth—from us, and from the kindred whom you love, and who love you, and pray for your happiness and prosperity in the land of your adoption.

We regard America with feelings of admiration: we do not look upon her as a strange land, or upon her people as aliens from our affections. The power of steam has brought us nearer together; it will increase the intercourse between us, so that the character of the Irish people and of the American people must in future be acted upon by the feelings and dispositions of each.

The object of this address is to call your attention to the subject of SLAVERY IN AMERICA—that foul blot upon the noble institutions and the fair fame of your adopted country. But for this stain, America would, indeed, be a land worthy of your adoption; but she will never be the glorious country that her free constitution designed her to be, so long as her soil is polluted by the footprint of a single slave.

Slavery is the most tremendous invasion of the natural, inalienable rights of man, and of some of the noblest gifts of God, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." What a spectacle does America present to the people of the earth! A land of professing Christian republicans, uniting their energies for the oppression and degradation of three millions of innocent human beings, the children of one common Father, who suffer the most grievous wrongs, and the utmost degradation, for no crime of their ancestors or their own! Slavery is a sin against God and man. All who are not for it must be against it. None can be neutral. We entreat you to take the part of justice, religion, and liberty.

It is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation, under this withering curse. America is cursed by slavery! We call upon you to unite *with the abolitionists*, and never to cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. We are all children of the same gracious God, all equally entitled to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We are told that you possess great power, both moral and political, in America. We entreat you to exercise that power and that influence for the sake of humanity.

You will not witness the horrors of slavery in all the States of America. Thirteen of them are *free*, and thirteen are *slave States*. But in all, the pro-slavery feeling, though rapidly decreasing, is still strong. Do not unite with it: on the contrary, oppose it by all the peaceful means in your power. Join with the abolitionists every where. They are the only *consistent advocates of liberty*. Tell every man that you do not understand liberty for the white man, and slavery for the black man: that you are for liberty for all, of every color, creed, and country.

The American citizen proudly points to the national declaration of independence, which declares that "All mankind are born free and equal, and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Aid him to carry out this noble declaration by obtaining freedom for the slave.

Irishmen and Irishwomen! treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren. By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty—hate slavery—cling by the abolitionists, and in America you will do honor to the name of Ireland.

From the Northampton Courier.

SANTA FE EXPEDITION.

There appears to be a misapprehension in the minds of many, as to the character and purposes of the Santa Fe expedition, fitted out in Texas, and lately defeated by the Mexicans.

Texas, proper, contains about 165,000 square miles; but the Texans, on the 19th of Dec. 1836, passed an act, coolly annexing to themselves large portions of the neighboring States of Tamaulipas, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Santa Fe, equal to about 150,000 square miles more; and making the entire extent of the pretended republic of Texas, upwards of 300,000 square miles, or 200,000,000 of acres, just forty-two times the extent of the State of Massachusetts!—This is the territory which the Texan government, if they have a government there, proposes to negotiate into this Union, (if we have a Union,) and the slave States are to receive; in order to preserve, not the balance, but the preponderance of power; and to furnish a vast, permanent, and exclusive slave mart for the breeders of *Maryland, Virginia*, the *Carolinas*, &c.

It was natural that the Texans, as preparatory to coming into the Union with this large booty, should have been desirous of acquiring some other title than an act of their Congress. For this purpose, the Santa Fe expedition was got up; there being rumors of a rebellion already existing there.

It appears that they sent forward messengers to announce that they came "more as friends than foes." What wretched falsehood and effrontery!—They came in Texan uniform, with arms in their hands, and spare arms, for *insurgents*, in their baggage wagons. A new way of driving bargains!—The Mexicans were not deceived; and it is well.

Respecting the circumstances of the surrender, the accounts differ. Some state that the Texans made a bloody resistance during twelve hours, at a loss of several hundred Mexicans, and only two or three Texans.

Later accounts state that they were captured in violation of a convention, agreed and ratified by the parties. I am not going to justify perfidy, in any form. It must be remembered that the Texan party are traitors to Mexico, and by her laws liable to the punishment of death; which they deserve, if traitors ever did. But if they had been foreign enemies, instead of traitors to their country, the supposed perfidy of the Mexicans, would not be more base, nor in my opinion as much so, as the capture of *Oceola* by the forces of the government of the United States: because the Texans, coming with hostile designs, were already within the grasp of the Mexicans, before the capitulation was agreed; while Oceola, coming with a friendly object, was free as the winds, until he was induced, solely by a *flag of truce*, to put himself within *Jesup's* reach.

It is very important, *particularly at this time*, that we should not suffer our sympathies to be played upon by false and artful tales from Texas. Upon the enlisting of those sympathies, the Texans and the *landjobbers* rely to extend conquest, to smooth the way to annexation, and to convert into solid wealth the vast and fraudulent land titles, which at present are not worth a pepper-corn.

Communications.

CONVENTIONS IN ONTARIO COUNTY.

FARMINGTON, Feb. 17, 1842.

My last letter informed you of the arrangements made by Jacob Ferris and myself, for a series of conventions in Ontario county; and now, our labors in this county having been brought to a close, I take my pen to give you such information as I hope will prove interesting to the readers of the Standard.

The travelling has been horrible; sometimes on account of the mud, and at others, on account of the hardening effects of the frost. We have been compelled, in order to meet our appointments, to

"Drive on
Through" rough or muddy "roads a weary way;"

but notwithstanding this, our journeyings have been more productive of cheerfulness than of despondency. We have been *jolted* just enough to keep fresh in our minds a remembrance of the racking tortures to which the slave is exposed, and to give a keen relish for the warm hospitalities of his true-hearted friends, who, in almost every place we visited, met us

"With greeting kind
And welcome, not of hollow, forged smiles,
And ceremonious compliment of phrase,
But of *the heart sincere.*"

If the roads had not been almost impassable, we have good reasons for believing that we should have counted our hearers by hundreds, instead of scores; and we should have done so even as it was, if we could have continued our meetings in each place a second day. Our arrangements made this impossible.

As my companion, at the time of his appointment by the committee, was personally unknown to us all, I may be pardoned for saying, that I have found in him a faithful and efficient fellow-laborer; and that although he is but twenty years of age, his public efforts are alike creditable to himself and honorable to the cause.

Our first three appointments failed, mainly for want of time to give adequate notice. These were at Geneva, Oaks' Corners, and Melvin Hill. Under more favorable circumstances, we might have done something effectual for the cause in each of these places. At the latter two, there was too much reason to apprehend some violent disturbance; but this would not have discouraged us, if there had been time to make the necessary arrangements for meetings.

Our first convention was at Manchester. Arriving at this place two days earlier than we expected, we held a preliminary meeting in a school-house, a mile from the village, and near the residence of our host, on the evening of February 3. The night was dark and rainy, but a goodly number of people attended. The next evening we held a meeting at the large school-house in the village, which was crowded by an attentive audience. Agreeably to the plan which we had previously adopted for all our meetings, we informed the people that they had been invited to assemble, not for the purpose of listening to us exclusively, but for the purpose of participating, so far as they desired to do so, in a free discussion of the subject of slavery. We extended this invitation to opponents, as well as friends of the anti-slavery enterprise. After the appointment of a chairman and secretary, I proceeded to give a brief exposition of the principles and purposes of the abolitionists. When I had concluded, Ezra Pierce, a justice of the peace, came out in opposition. He was followed by Webster Shelden, another justice of the peace, *said* to be an infidel, who undertook to defend slavery from the Bible! Their remarks indicated a degree of ignorance respecting the principles and measures of abolitionists, not very creditable to men of such pretensions. Of their arguments it is scarcely necessary to say that—

"Conflicting cruelly against themselves,
By their own hands they fell—part slaying part."

Of course, nothing more was necessary, by way of reply, than simply to show that they had confuted themselves. Their opposition, however, excited a deep interest among the people, and the meeting did not adjourn till after 10 o'clock. The next day, we met at the Baptist meeting-house. Our efficient helper, J. C. Hathaway, joined us, bringing with him another friend of the cause, Octavius Mason, a Methodist minister. Our meeting was an interesting one, although the attendance was not large. Edward Watkins, a worthy colored brother, presided. In the evening, we were greeted by a pretty numerous audience. Mr. Shaw, the Methodist minister of the place, though professing to be an abolitionist, came out in opposition to us on account of our "hard language." He was immediately followed by Ezra Pierce, the justice before mentioned, in a speech, the vulgarity and indecency of which I shall not attempt to describe. He paid a compliment to the Methodist minister, which reminded many of the anecdote of the tippler, who said the deacon had "'*spressed his mind 'zackly.*" This speech greatly helped the cause.

Our next meeting was at the town-house in Farmington, Feb. 6. About one hundred and seventy-five people were present, who listened attentively to remarks from us, and J. C. Hathaway. The next day we met at the orthodox Friends' meeting-house, in this place. The attitude of the various sects, and particularly of the Friends, towards our cause, was made a subject of free remark. We have reason to believe that this meeting exerted a good influence.

February 8, we held a convention at Victor. J. C. Hathaway accompanied us, and rendered valuable aid. We had one meeting during the day, and another in the evening; both in the Methodist meeting-house. Two Methodist brethren undertook a defense of their church, which led to a very exciting debate. Isaac Marsh, an aged member, took a noble stand, and rebuked them faithfully for attempting to palliate the conduct of the General Conference.

From Victor, we went to East Bloomfield; where we held a convention on the 9th. A committee was raised to present business. This committee offered two resolutions; one ascribing the apathy of the people to the divisions among abolitionists, and the other deprecating the "ultra" measures of the Peterboro Convention, respecting runaway slaves and the suppression of insurrections. Rev. Mr. Stowe, the Principal of the Academy, being present, took occasion to give the audience his anti-slavery "creed." He told us he was a liberty-party man, and could not conscientiously vote for any body but an abolitionist; "but," he added, "if a minister or a church will tell me that they regard slavery as a sin, I will not refuse to support them on account of their anti-abolitionism!" This inconsistent avowal led to a very exciting debate. I endeavored to show how preposterous it was to judge political parties by a higher standard, than we were willing to apply to the ministers and churches. I think all present must have been satisfied of the gross inconsistency of such a course.* In regard to the Peterboro Convention, we told them that we were not in any way responsible for its proceedings; but as we approved of the particular measures referred to in the resolution, we had no objection to enter upon a defense of them.† On this topic we had a very interesting debate. We endeavored to show that the advice given to the slaves respecting the means to be used in running away was consistent with sound Christian morality, and that a war to reduce them to bondage would be a war against God and humanity, in which no Christian or republican could engage. We were induced to discuss these points because they were uppermost in the minds of the people.

February 10, we held a convention at West Bloomfield, morning, afternoon, and evening. The attendance was not large, but the meetings were full of interest.

From West Bloomfield, we went to Richmond, where we spent two days, and held two conventions, in different parts of the town. We were cordially received, and had sufficient evidence that our labors advanced the cause. The kindness of the family under whose roof we tarried will not soon be forgotten.

Bristol was the place of our next appointment, where we had agreed to spend Sunday and Monday, the 13th and 14th inst. We did not expect there would be any opportunity for a meeting before afternoon on Sunday, and therefore did not attempt to reach the place before that time. When we arrived, we found, to our surprise, that the Congregationalists had volunteered to give up their regular services for the whole day, in order that we might occupy their pulpit; and that the people had been disappointed by our non-arrival in the morning. They had assembled for the afternoon, and their minister was addressing them on the subject of slavery when we entered. We followed him in some brief remarks, and then the meeting was adjourned till evening. The evening meeting was well attended, and the people listened to us with deep interest. On Monday, we held a meeting at the Baptist meeting-house in another part of the town.

It was a cold, blustering day, and only about forty people attended; but they evinced a lively interest in the truths which we brought to their notice.

Next came our county convention at Canandaigua, Tuesday, the 15th. Owing to the horrible state of the roads, and the sudden coldness of the weather, not more than fifty or sixty persons were present from other towns; and owing to various causes, only a small number of the people of the village attended. In the forenoon we were able to do no more than organize, and in the evening we were unable to hold a meeting at all, for want of a house. The Methodists, whose house we had in the day time, wanted it in the evening for their own use; other meeting-houses were closed against us; and the court house was occupied by a temperance meeting, gathered to hear a popular speaker from Geneva. We were therefore confined exclusively to the afternoon. Under these discouraging circumstances, we did as well as we could.

Our labors in this county have been a severe tax upon our strength. We have been obliged to speak from three to four hours each, every day, besides travelling from place to place.

Our next field is Monroe county, where our arrangements are similiar to those above described.

The recent proceedings in Congress are the common topic of conversation in every neighborhood we visit. The "agitation" produced by the desperate efforts of the slaveholders in Congress, to crush Mr. Adams, will purify the atmosphere at the North, to an extent little dreamed of by them. Let us thank God that the North is beginning to show some signs of taking her freedom!

You will rejoice to learn, and so will every abolitionist, that the temperance cause is carrying all before it in this region. In East Bloomfield, the people recently made a bonfire, in the public square, of nearly all the ardent spirits in town. Such bonfires will consume not *ardent* spirit alone, but the *spirit* of pro-slavery also.

Yours, truly,

OLIVER JOHNSON.

* Many of the third political party are aware of this inconsistency, and are endeavoring to form a distinct abolition church, composed of all sects that agree with them in doctrines they deem essential.—*Ed.*

† Mr. Johnson expresses his own opinion merely. We do not approve of the address to the slaves; though we have the highest respect for the kind feelings and good intentions of the author.—*Ed.*

NOTES ON A THIRD POLITICAL PARTY.

The following remarks, now published for the first time, were written some time ago by a very able, and highly-respected member of the anti-slavery society.

—

Ought abolitionists to form themselves into a distinct political party, for the abolition of slavery?

In reply to this question, I will examine, first, the *morality*, and secondly, the *expediency* of such a party.

I. The Morality.

1. Providence having entrusted us with the privilege of choosing our rulers, we are bound to exercise this privilege for the common good.

2. Slavery is not the *only* evil under which our country suffers; nor is its removal the only good we ought to seek.

3. In attempting the liberation of two millions of blacks, we may not disregard the welfare of fifteen millions of whites. Not that they are inconsistent, but that the agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial interests of our fellow-citizens all claim our consideration, in the selection of rulers.

4. To pursue only *one* object of public policy, and to make the approval of that object the *sole* qualification for office, seems incompatible with the obligations of patriotism. The spirit-ration in the navy is an evil authorized by the federal government; would it be moral to disregard all other questions of national and local policy, and to nominate and support men for every office, high and low, solely on account of their hostility to the spirit-ration?

5. An abolition political party necessarily supposes an entire suspension, by its members, of all political efforts in their *associated* capacity, for any *other* object than the abolition of slavery. Good faith would require that, in such a party, no candidate should be rejected on account of his peculiar views in relation to a national bank, the tariff, internal improvements, military preparations, independence of the judiciary, disposition of the public lands, or any other subject whatsoever of national, state, county, or municipal policy. Is it moral to vote for a man, who, if elected, will, in your opinion, support injurious or unconstitutional measures, merely because he thinks with you on the subject of slavery?

6. The proposed party, we are informed, is not to be confined to national policy, but will aim to secure to itself *every office*, from the President of the United States, to the pathmaster of a road-district. The maintenance of the poor, the erection of bridges, the equal distribution of taxes, devolve upon the county supervisors. In selecting these officers, would it be moral to put out of sight the rights and interests of the county, and to vote for men *merely* because they are abolitionists? It may be said, good men will be nominated. Be it so; but good men may conscientiously differ on questions of general and local policy; and the inquiry is, whether we have a moral right to put these questions aside, in the election of officers; especially in the election of officers, who, as in the case of county supervisors, have no possible jurisdiction over slavery? Yet, if a candidate, sound in the abolition faith, be regularly nominated by the party, the members of the party are, in consistency, bound to support him, without inquiring into his sentiments on any other topic.

7. It does not seem honest in abolitionists to violate the pledges they have given to the public, that they were not seeking political power; nor, after professing to be governed by a disinterested regard for the slave, to endeavor to appropriate to themselves the emoluments of every office in the country.

For these reasons, it appears to me, that an abolition political party must involve its members in embarrassments, contradictions, and delinquencies, to which no citizen has a moral right to subject himself.

But it may be asked, can an abolitionist consistently vote for a pro-slavery candidate for *any* office? I answer, this depends on the meaning attached to the term *pro-slavery*; and also upon the influence which the administration of the office in question might have on the institution of slavery. Many worthy men agree with me in condemning slavery, but differ from me as to the most expedient mode of removing it. There are many offices in which I should be happy to see them; there are others, in which I would prefer placing men who more fully accord with me in sentiment. I can form no rule on this subject, applicable to *all* cases. The safest is, let each one be fully persuaded in his own mind; ever recollecting that he is accountable to his Maker for the manner in which he exercises his right of suffrage.

If we may not vote for any officer, national, state, county, or town, who does not admit the right and duty of Congress *instanter* to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, by what rule of morals are we authorized to vote for a collector of taxes who does not admit the right and duty of Congress to abolish the spirit-ration and Sunday mails? If a conscientious man may not vote for a candidate unless he approves of *all* his opinions, then conscientious men are virtually disfranchised.

II. Expediency.

But whatever may be thought of the morality of such a party, would it be expedient?

1. Such a party places the other parties in necessary and active hostility to it. The object of competition is *office*; and hence, the office-hunters of the other parties are impelled by love of power, love of money, and love of distinction, to oppose abolition. Is it wise to offer to politicians the stimulus of self-interest to oppose us?

2. In no extensive district of our country, much less in any State, or even county, do abolitionists form a plurality of the voters; of course there is no prospect of present success; and a political party is not strengthened by an exhibition of its weakness.

3. On the subject of a political party, abolitionists are themselves greatly divided; and this fact renders success still more difficult.

4. The dissensions among us, caused by this party, will tend to weaken the moral influence of the anti-slavery enterprise.

5. The political machinery of the party, will divest our anti-slavery efforts of their *moral* character. The voice of prayer will seldom be heard amid election tumults; the offerings of the pious, formerly expended in useful publications, and in the support of lecturers, will be withheld; while the contributions of political aspirants will be devoted to electioneering purposes; and our periodicals, like other partisan papers, will gradually become the vehicles of misrepresentation, scurrility, and falsehood. A good *end* will, as is usual in politics, be deemed to sanctify bad *means*; and the lust of power, and the bitterness of strife, will afford mortifying comments on our professions of disinterested benevolence.

III. Result of success.

Should this party acquire power, one of two consequences would ensue; either the immediate dissolution of the party, or its moral corruption.

1. We will suppose the party acquires the preponderance in this State, at the next election. The party, it will be recollected, is pledged to no measures, and avows no principles, except in relation to slavery; on all other topics of State and national policy, its members entertain various and discordant opinions. The legislature convenes, and the party recommend to the people an alteration in the Constitution, on the subject of negro suffrage, and pass various resolutions in relation to the connection of the federal government with slavery. This done, the power of the *party*, as such, is exhausted. On all subjects of local legislation, the members are divided, and of course without strength; but the *minority*, acting together, acquire, with the aid of such of the abolitionists as happen to think with them, the entire control of the legislation of the State. Can a powerless party retain the ascendancy? Would the people again elect men in whom they could place no dependence? men who had no system of State policy, and who, notwithstanding their hatred to slavery, had, by their want of unanimity, virtually transferred to the minority (that is, to the *anti-abolition* party) the government of the State? The very first session would witness the dissolution of the party, if honest.

2. But it would *not* be honest. It would find *union* indispensable to the prervation of *power*; and union would be effected by a sacrifice of *principle*. The action of the party would be regulated by caucus dictation, and conscience would yield to expediency.

If this be theory, it is at least founded on experience. The anti-masonic party was based, like the abolition political party, on a single proposition; viz. the danger and unlawfulness of masonry. Under this banner they entered into the contest for office, and elected sixteen members of the New-York legislature. These members were elected *solely* on account of their hostility to masonry.—Of course, if honest and independent, they would, like other men, have had their various conflicting opinions on *other* subjects. But they thought it *expedient* to act together, as a party. Did a bank apply for a charter? Every anti-mason in the House, wonderful as it might seem, came to the *same* conclusion, that it was, or was not, proper to grant the application. May abolitionists avoid the temptation of thus sporting with their own consciences, and the rights and interests of the people. The anti-masonic party was from that session virtually dissolved; and it is extremely doubtful whether the abolition party, by following their example, could avoid a similar fate. It is obvious that the party could not avow *any* political principles, or pledge itself to *any* system of State policy, without disgusting such of its friends as repudiated those principles, and opposed the adopted system. Without union, the party could not retain power; and probably the very attempt to unite on controverted points would ensure its speedy dissolution.

IV. Honest and consistent political action on the part of abolitionists.

1. Duty forbids us to vote contrary to our conviction of right; but it does not always require us to vote. If we think we can do more good by withholding, than by giving our vote, it is right to withhold. If both candidates are immoral, our open refusal to vote for either, is a reproof of vice, and may induce in future a better selection.

2. Let abolitionists steadily refuse to vote for any man, for any station, who, they have good reason to believe, would exert an official influence in behalf of slavery.—Such a practice would make it the interest of the respective parties to nominate men for whom abolitionists *could* conscientiously vote.

3. Let abolitionists take pains to have the *reasons* that induce such a course well understood by the party with whose political principles they sympathise. Let them seize all convenient opportunities publicly to espouse the cause of abolition, and protest against the nomination and support of improper candidates. In this way, even political meetings might, in a greater or less degree, be turned into anti-slavery meetings.

4. Let candidates be questioned. If their answers are unsatisfactory, let abolitionists withhold their votes. If satisfactory, let as many abolitionists as *can conscientiously*, give them their support.

5. In this way, abolition will become mingled with politics, without any sacrifice of principle, and without soiling its moral purity; and in this way, it will necessarily exercise a mighty and salutary influence over both political parties, and make itself felt in the General and State governments.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, MARCH 3, 1842.

THE IRON SHROUD.

Several years ago, we read, in some English periodical, a very exciting article bearing the above title. It was the story of a prisoner of State, placed in a large dungeon, with iron walls, lighted from the top by fourteen long, narrow windows. The second day of his imprisonment, he could count but thirteen windows; the next day, but twelve; and so on, until he became aware of the awful fact, that the walls of his prison were every day closing in upon him, and must finally crush him in their iron embrace. Again, and again, have we thought of this thrilling story in connection with slavery; and never so much as within the last two years. It becomes more and more obvious that the walls *are* closing in upon the foul system, and that it must inevitably be crushed. Not only is there an immense force of moral influence brought to bear upon it from the whole civilized world, but *events* are closing upon it with tremendous power. Slavery is not merely fighting with a few thousands of abolitionists, or even with the moral convictions of the age; I speak reverently, when I say God himself has visibly entered the lists against her.

How wonderfully has the anti-slavery flame been kindled and fed, through all manner of clouds and tempests! Again, and again, has slavery sent up a triumphant shout that its light had gone out in a fog;—but lo! the fog rolled up, like a curtain, and there, on the mountain-top, blazed the beacon-fire, higher and brighter, kindling hill-sides and valleys with its glow!

My mind is filled with wonder, when I look back upon the rise and progress of this cause, to reflect how, from *every* class of life, and for *every* species of work, there was a laborer raised up, at precisely the moment he was needed. Half a century of silent acquiescence, and of almost unconscious partnership in the guilt of slavery, had wonderfully stupified the moral sense of the people. To speak in the language of metaphor, there was an immense gulf formed, from which issued pestilential vapors, fatal to the nation's health; and it could not, like the famous Roman abyss, be closed by the voluntary sacrifice of one victim. It was necessary for hundreds and thousands of the brave and disinterested to throw themselves in, and thus form a safe bridge for the timid and the time-serving to pass over. How nobly they came up to the work—eager to be trampled on! We had, indeed, no Curtius, with horse and armor; for we had no need of the *soldier's* aid. But the merchant came with his wealth; the author with his popularity; woman with her social influence; the scholar, and the rich man's son, surrendering all that gave them name or place; the slaveholder relinquishing his slaves; the bigot throwing away his prejudices; yeoman and mechanic, with the whole of their free, honest hearts; and hardest of all, the clergyman giving up parish popularity, and the good opinion of his brotherhood. All were needed, all came, and all were sacrificed. Of all may it be said, "the places that once knew them, know them no more." Rank and popularity are gone; and those who look on the surface of things, say that they have lost all social influence also. What matter?—They have formed the bridge, and the people are pouring over it *en masse*.

And all along our course, *events*, which we could neither foresee nor control, have aided us with miraculous power. It is curious now to imagine what might have been the present state of things, if Garrison had never been imprisoned at Baltimore for publishing an article against a slavetrading yankee, and if the kind heart of Arthur Tappan not been stirred thereby to pay his fine of a thousand dollars.

In our small beginnings, the Faculty of Lane Seminary, did us most important service. For the sake of securing southern patronage, they made a strong effort to suppress the utterance of free thought; and thus they sent forth the flower of the institution to become anti-slavery lecturers, at a time when they were most needed. In the words of George Thompson, "these young men were firebrands, which Dr. Beecher, finding too hot for his hands to manage, threw from him, and scattered all over the land."

The outrage on the United States mail, the murder of Lovejoy, the Boston and New-York mobs, the burning of Pennsylvania Hall, and innumerable other incidents of the same character, all conspired to do our work, in a manner perceptible enough to *us*, though not to the world. Slaveholders and their abettors have been our most powerful agents from the beginning; and they will be so unto the end. They cannot help it, let them resolve as much discretion as they may; their free-will is evermore girt round by the iron ring of necessity, forged by the circumstances of their own false position.—Would it have been safe for their system to have Congress receive petitions for its abolition, and allow free discussion thereon? Most manifestly not. So they made war upon the right of petition, and thus compelled

the North, grievously against her will, to calculate the value of the Union.

And how strange it is that a man should have been educated and trained, as it were, for thirty years, on purpose to do our work in Congress. John Quincy Adams has long been behind the scenes, in the great game of politics. He knows all the dirty bell-ropes, phosphoric lightning, and tin-kettle thunder. He knows too much to be afraid, and far too much not to be feared. He has been President of the United States, and, like his father, thrown out of office by the slaveholding power. If this has not embittered his feelings, it has at least made him keenly observing of southern trickery and usurpation.—Thus has the South, in no small degree, prepared *him* for the arduous task, which he performs like a brave old giant. Long may his mortal frame be kept strong enough to do the work of mind and heart!

But of all events having an important bearing on our cause, there is none so remarkable as the case of the Amistad. That those Africans should have been cast upon *our* shores, of all the shores of this wide earth; that they should have entered a *northern*, instead of a southern port; that public opinion should have been wrought up, by preceding events, to just the right pitch to make the proper moral *improvement* of these incidents; that the slaveholding influence in the Supreme Court should have been diminished by the sudden death of a Judge; truly these things are wonderful!

Not less wonderful is the fact, that the Amistad case should have prepared the way for the Creole. A few years ago, Madison Washington would have been dismissed by the American press as a "base wretch," "a cut-throat," &c. Now the press of the free States, with few exceptions, utters no condemnation, while very many pour forth expressions of sympathy, not unmingled with admiration. The spontaneous gushings of the popular heart in favor of the Amistad captives doubtless performed a large share of this work.

The South itself is in a state of intense fermentation. In Kentucky is a strong party in favor of getting rid of slavery. Western Virginia can scarcely repress her murmurings against the foul system; but lately, they were uttered in a petition to Congress for abolition. Virginia is moreover in an angry snarl with New-York, whose free-law loco-motive ran against her baggage car, called "Peculiar Institution," on the high-way of State intercourse. This gives birth to lively discussion between proprietors and passengers of the two cars, of which the results will prove most significant. Maryland, in distress for her runaway "property," strives to hold a convention to secure it. Ashamed of her own secrets, she imprisons a peaceable northern reporter, and all the free States hiss thereat, to her great annoyance; and to increase her troubles, the more religious portion of her own citizens rise to rebuke her doings. South Carolina is in a fury with Great Britain about her shipwrecked slaves; yet can she in no wise refrain from making common cause with Virginia in her battle with New-York. Louisiana terrified at the increasing population and wealth of the free blacks, at the vicinity of the British West Indies, and the exertion of English influence in Cuba, finds time likewise to join hands with Virginia and South Carolina in this crusade. Georgia does the same, though her old slave controversy with Maine is still unsettled. All combine together, and in their far-sighted wisdom, pass non-intercourse and inspection laws, which clash with the Constitution. Thus again does the southern whip drive the North to calculate the value of the Union. Mississippi is groaning aloud under her State debts, incurred in part for the purchase of slaves, and involving suits in the Supreme Court of the United States destined to have a very important bearing on the issue between slavery and freeedom.

Then comes the heavy unpaid *debts* of the South, moving northern merchants, manufacturers, and mechanics, to execrations altogether irreverent toward the sacred Union; and in the midst of the curses, not a few are brought to see and acknowledge that it can in no degree be profitable for communities to eat their own laborers. To this the South replies that the laborers eat their masters; the North responds that she grows daily more dubious whether a partnership in such victualling establishment can be in any wise advantageous.

Then come ship-loads of East India cotton, and the phantoms of thousands more, across the already choked-up path of the "peculiar institution;" whereat statesmen utter a chorus of howls, which avail nothing.

It were well for the South to pause, and ask herself with whom she is playing her desperate game, when she finds herself thus check-mated at every turn.

On one side is all Europe, combined with South America, and even Texas, for the suppression of the slave trade. On the other, is the United States separated from the civilized world, trying to stretch her starry flag over the foul enormity. Between the two lies war with England. For the back-ground of that battle piece, see the British West Indies, swarming with black troops, who well remember what slavery is; Haiti, with its vivid recollections, and active sympathies, all arrayed against slavery; Mexico, with abundant cause to hate the United States, particularly the southern portion of it; and the Indians, swarming on our borders, with long arrears of wrong to settle, after their fashion, with tomahawk and scalping-knife. These wrongs, too, are linked with slavery; for what is our "Great Florida Negro Hunt," but a war for the right of kidnapping Indian babes, by mothers once held as slaves? To crown all, the focus around which these inflammable materials are collecting, is the gathering-place for slaves of the worst description. Does a slave commit a crime? He is sold to the southwest. Is he so intelligent, or so violent, as to be considered dangerous? He is sold to the southwest. Is he suspected of plotting insurrection? He is sold to the southwest; there to be goaded into fury by severity greater than that from which he escapes.

Surely the walls *are* closing around slavery.—L. M. C.

LETTERS FROM NEW-YORK.—No. 18.

A short time ago, I went over to Bergen Heights, about a mile from Jersey City, to look at the first beginnings of a most interesting and praiseworthy institution, called the Delevan Temperance Institute. The large building was formerly a military store-house, belonging to the United States; and was purchased by Mr. G. M. Danforth, to be converted into a laboratory. Some changes in the tariff rendered this chemical establishment unprofitable; and the building has for some time remained empty. The owner being much interested in the management of a Sunday school, was grieved to find the religious influence on poor, ignorant children, lamentably counteracted by the misery and vice of their parents. This led him to visit their homes; if such a name could be applied to the miserable dens and dilapidated sheds at Five Points, where they were huddled together like rats. He found them without food or fuel, almost without clothing, and in many instances without fire-places; yet striving to solace all their woes, and supply all their wants with Rum. They were dying of all manner of diseases, produced by want of sustenance, excess of alcoholic stimulus, and the slow agony of discouragement and despair. Yet even there, human nature was not altogether degraded; the secret spark had a smouldering life, under the heaps of dirt and ashes that society had thrown upon it. When Mr. Danforth urged them to sign the temperance pledge, many exclaimed, "Oh, most gladly would we do it; but we cannot keep it here. We have no employment, no home; and the devil is at our elbow all the time, tempting us to drink." The more he went among them, the more deeply was his heart moved, and the more earnest grew the entreaty, "Oh, take us away from here! Do take us away! We want to be good, indeed we do; but we never can be good in this dreadful place."

The uselessness of expending his means in temporary relief was obvious enough; and he could not leave human brothers to die there, physically and spiritually, of foul disease. Suddenly he bethought himself of his large laboratory; and that it was now lying empty, for the use of the Lord. He at once resolved to employ such pecuniary means as he had (which I believe were quite moderate) in fitting it up with partitions, fire-places, &c. to make it tolerably comfortable. Hither he invited the men and women, who wished to reform, and lead sober, industrious lives. They were to work for the benefit of the concern, and leave whenever they could do better. Many received the proposition with thankful joy. Fifty or sixty are now there, with their temperance medals about their necks, working according to their strength; though many of them are sick, infirm, and feeble. They are of all trades and capacities, and work in abundance can be procured for them. One is an excellent globe-maker, and he has received an order for five hundred globes; another makes washing-machines, on an excellent and improved plan, for which there is rapid sale.—They seem contented and hopeful; though at present they are suffering many inconveniences, from want of clothing and furniture. Mr. Danforth has done to the extent of his means, and greatly needs the assistance of the benevolent. Let those who have old garments, especially of woollen; or old chairs, bedsteads, pans, kettles, &c. stowed away as lumber, remember that any article which could be converted into use, would be thankfully accepted at the Delevan Institute. Still better would it be, if manufacturers would now and then send pieces of strong cotton, or coarse woollen. It would be an easy matter for them to satisfy themselves that such donations were honestly and judiciously appropriated.

My visit to this institution did my heart good, though it was at a dreary season of the year, and the unfinished state of the building gave it a cheerless aspect. It was beautiful to see, even under such forlorn circumstances, revelations of those genial emotions, which belong to our universal nature, and indicate our common godlike origin. One woman wept like the rain, when she informed me that her little boy, "as good a child as ever lived," was in the house of correction; being caught in the company of some young thieves. "He would not have been in their company, ma'am," said she, "if"—Her voice choked too much for utterance; but I well understood the unfinished sentence, and answered in words of consolation and encouragement. A bright-looking man told a most affecting story of the process by which he had been brought to sober reflection. On one occasion, when he returned to his miserable rookery, at Five Points, he found a woman half-burned up, but so drunk that she did not feel the fire. "Shall I ever come to *that?*" thought he; "perhaps I shall; for the bad appetite grows stronger and stronger, every day."—On another occasion, he found in the court by his door, a drunken woman, with her head shockingly cut open, in some recent fight. Her blood flowed over the pavement; but she was in the deep stupor of intoxication.—He turned away from the dreadful sight, sickened and sad; and when his eye rested on his little boy, a fine, bright child of four years old, it seemed as if his heart would break. His wife died; and at last the alms-house commissioners took the boy. Tears were in his eyes, as he told me this; and he added, with a stifled voice, "Oh, how much I thought of my blessed child; in the alms-house because I was not fit to take care of him. It cut me to the heart to remember how I had put him among drunkards and swearers, when I *should* have had the sweet little soul at my knee, teaching him his prayers, and the words of the blessed Jesus. For *his* sake I wanted to become a sober man; but if I took the pledge, how *could* I keep it in that place of sin? and where could I find employment and a home?" His countenance brightened, as he looked toward Mr. Danforth, and added, "But God has raised me up a friend; and he tells me, if I'll keep steady and industrious, my little boy shall come to live with me. By the blessing of God, I *will* keep the pledge; and one of these days, I'll go to the wicked haunts where I used to live, and I'll preach to them, and tell them what temperance has done for me; and I'll try to bring them away with me; for wasn't I thankful to find a friend that would bring *me* away?—I feel strong at heart, ma'am. *The thought of that dear child keeps me strong.*"

Alas for earth,

> "'Mid its labors and its cares,
> 'Mid its sufferings and its snares,"

if it were not for these little ministering spirits, to link us with the angels! I rejoiced to see that this poor, unlearned man, had within his heart the same fountain of love, which in Mary Howitt gushed forth in these sweet words:

> "'Mid the mighty, 'mid the mean,
> *Little children* may be seen;
> Like the flowers that spring up fair,
> Bright and countless, every where!
> Blessings on them! they in me
> Move a kindly sympathy,
> With their wishes, hopes and fears:
> With their laughter and their tears;
> With their wonder so intense,
> And their small experience!"

This affectionate father is a capable mechanic, strong and industrious; and I doubt not his little boy will be trotting through the green fields by his side, next summer.

I saw at this institution one elderly woman, very much diseased. It was proposed to remove her to the hospital, on account of the difficulty of making her comfortable with their poor accommodations. But she fell on her knees and wept, imploring them not to carry her away. To all their explanations, she answered, "I will sleep anyhow—I'll eat anything—I'll be strong as quick as I can, and go to work. Oh, do let me stay here! I'm safe here. If they carry me away, I shall get to drinking again."

They yielded to her entreaties, and did the best they could for her comfort.

Delevan Institute stands on an airy elevation, in the midst of green fields, and commands an extensive prospect, comprising the North and East rivers, Elizabethtown, Newark, and Belleville. In summer, it must be a healthy and beautiful residence. Would that every arsenal in the country were thus employed.

A lady of intelligence and active benevolence has established a similar institution, on a similar scale, in 19th street, New-York, for poor widows, who from discouragement and other causes, have become more or less addicted to intemperance. The proceeds of their labor is sold for their support; and they have the advantage of a kind friend to obtain for them the patronage they could not obtain for themselves.

Blessings on these movements! John the Baptists are they all, making way in the desert for the Highest. Blessings on the Washington Temperance Society, of which these off-shoots. By applying love instead of force, encouragement instead of punishment, they are working miracles in the name of Jesus!

The brief experiment of Bergen Heights, already proves that the principle of association and voluntary industry may be made profitable in a pecuniary view. These people are now earning their own living, including that of the sick and infirm; though a good deal of their labor has been unavoidably bestowed on providing means of present comfort, and the necessary implements for employment. This gives a hint of what *ought* to be substituted for constables and Egyptian Tombs.* The poor need houses of *encouragement*; and society gives them houses of *correction*.

These things, moreover, point the same way with a thousand other indications, all teaching that a *reconstruction of society is necessary*. Our benevolent institutions and reformatory societies perform but a limited and temporary use. They do not reach the ground-work of evil; and it is reproduced too rapidly for them to keep even the surface healed. The natural, spontaneous influences of society should be such as to supply men with healthy motives, and give full, free play to the affections, and the faculties. It is horrible to see our young men goaded on by the fierce, speculating spirit of the age, from the contagion of which it is almost impossible to escape, and then see them tortured into madness, or driven to crime, by fluctuating changes of the money-market. The young soul is, as it were, entangled in the great merciless machine of a falsely-constructed society; the steam he had no hand in raising whirls him hither and thither; and it is altogether a lottery-chance whether it crushes or propels him.

Many, who are mourning over the too obvious diseases of the world, will smile contemptuously at the idea of *reconstruction*. But let them reflect a moment upon the immense changes that have already come over society. In the middle ages, both noble and peasant would have laughed loud and long at the propheey of such a state of society as now exists in the free States of America; yet here we are!

Greater changes still lie imaged in the mirror of the future; and we are by no means certain that Charles Fourier has not seen them with a clearer vision than any other man. At all events his system of association deserves candid and thoughtful consideration.—L. M. C.

* Name of a prison in New-York city.

CIRCUMSTANCES ALTER CASES.

M. Bodisco, the Russian minister to this country, brought with him three serfs; one especially valuable to him as a cook. After a while, this man learned that he could work for wages in this country, and was fool enough to prefer such an arrangement to being taken care of by a kind master, who had the same interest to feed and clothe him well that he had to keep his horses in good condition.

When M. Bodisco found he had taken French leave, he applied to the authorities to restore his runaway servant; and of course, active agents were not wanting in the great metropolis of republican Freedom. The man was seized; but lo! he had blue eyes and fair hair. This was an embarrassing circumstance, certainly, for Anglo Saxon kidnappers; still, it would not have saved the victim, had it not been proved, beyond all question, that he was a Russian, and that the remote female progenitor, in Noah's ark, from whom he descended, certainly was not an African.

Under these circumstances, it became the painful duty of republicans, to inform the emissary of Nicholas that his servant was a free man, according to our laws. "Strange enough, too," thought M. Bodisco. "American senators and representatives can have their runaway servants seized and flogged, per order. Why am I excluded from the same privileges? My master will smile at these republican scruples."

DANIEL WEBSTER.

No one will be surprised at the communication from our Secretary of State, who calls to mind how low he prostrated himself at Richmond, to obtain his office. He promised to do all his master's bidding, and he does it.—When they have done with him, they can advertise him for sale to the *lowest* bidder: "Daniel Webster, a prime slave, warranted intelligent and faithful." Alas, for his Greek speech, and his Bunker-Hill oration, and his Plymouth Rock address! It is to be hoped no meddlesome northerner will injure his prospects of political success by putting extracts from them into school-books, that may meet the eye of his southern masters.

☞ THE IRISH ADDRESS. ☜

We published this last summer, when it was first adopted, with thundering enthusiasm, by the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Society. But as much curiosity has been expressed to see it, since the great meeting at Faneuil Hall, we republish it.

☞ "War and Peace: The Evils of the First, and a Plan for preserving the Last." By William Jay. This is the title of a small book, of one hundred pages, published in very neat style by Wiley & Putnam, Broadway. It is also for sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, 143 Nassau street. It is written with the characteristic ability, clearness, and accuracy of its excellent author; and contains a convincing array of facts to prove its propositions. The cure it proposes for the evils of war, is, that nations should universally agree, by treaty, to settle all disputes by arbitration. This would indeed be a step of vast importance in the progressive civilization of the world. We give an extract on the first page.

Several communications are delayed for want of room. They shall receive attention as soon as possible.

MISTAKE.—In copying the editorial on Judge Upshur, an inaccuracy occurred. A sentence was quoted as if *from* Hobbes, when it was merely a condensed expression of the substance of his theory.

We cordially thank our friend E. A. C. for the "Willow Glen," and two other articles, in prose and verse. We shall always be happy to receive contributions from her intelligent and graceful mind.

The Postoffice address of James Monroe, agent of the American Society, is Canterbury, Ct.

The acknowledgments are unavoidably postponed this week, on account of the illness of the Treasurer.

Anti-Slavery Items.

ANOTHER OUTRAGE.—A young man from Massachusetts, named Tolman, an agent for periodicals, in Washington, happened to offer a copy of the Emancipator for sale, to a newsman, named Jenkins. For this he was arrested and thrust into jail on the charge of circulating incendiary publications. He was bailed out next morning. It is suggested by Mr. Leavitt that the case may come before the Supreme Court.

MASSACHUSETTS.—This brave old State is worthy of having John Quincy Adams for her representative. She is doing anti-slavery work with a strong hand. So efficient is the action of her people in the legislature, that we shall probably hear of no more insults to colored passengers on her railroads. At Andover there has lately been a great meeting where the ram's horn was blown till the walls of slavery shook to the sound. The delegation was very numerous, and spirited, as of old. People came thronging from all parts of the country, in all sorts of vehicles; some walked ten, fifteen, and twenty miles. Garrison, Phillips, Bradburn, Remond, Douglas, Pillsbury, and Abby Kelley, were there, and spoke with great ability. Not in vain does God thus rouse the hearts of the people.

HENRY G. CHAPMAN.—We regret to learn that this excellent and disinterested friend of our cause is again obliged to visit a southern clime, on account of renewed ill health. He sailed for Gonaives, Haiti, about a week ago, accompanied by his admirable wife, saddened, but still serene and strong in this hour of trial.

HOW FREEMEN ARE TREATED IN OHIO.—It will be recollected by our readers, that of all the colored persons huddled together in the pen, and driven to jail during the late riots, but one was claimed as a slave.—His trial came on last week, before Judges Ayres and Morss, when such an accumulation of evidence was presented in behalf of his freedom, that the attorney for the claimant backed out with shame; and the poor fellow was released, after having laid in jail two months, to please a slave hunter.

He wanted to know, after the trial, if the court recovered damages from the client, who had remained on the other side of the river—but was informed that he could have no redress, and the law required no bail, except from the defendant, who might wish to establish his right to freedom.—*Philanthropist.*

ABOLITIONISTS IN JAIL.—We were glad to observe that the Worcester County Anti-Slavery Society, Massachusetts, passed the following resolutions at a late meeting:

Resolved, That this society most deeply sympathizes with those three young men now imprisoned in Palmyra, Missouri, as criminals, and sentenced to be incarcerated for twelve years, for no other cause than urging slaves to take their liberty, which is not declared a criminal act by the laws of said State.

Resolved, further, That this society heartily concurs with the suggestion which has been made to call a Convention to devise some effectual means to restore these young men to liberty.

The "Liberty Party" Convention at Peterboro, (N.Y.) passed similar resolutions; and so have several anti-slavery societies, in different parts of the country. We do hope that sympathy will not be allowed to pass off in words, but that some decided and energetic measures will be taken for their relief. Will our friends apply their wisdom to this subject? It ought not to be neglected.

THE SLAVE TRADE.—The British schooner, Fantome, recently returned to Simon's Bay, near Cape of Good Hope, after a cruise of sixteen months on the coast of Angola, having, in connection with two other British vessels during the period named, captured 33 slavers, and liberated 3,427 negroes. Thus:

Fantome,	16 vessels	1,340 negroes
Brisk,	10 do	1,136 do
Waterwitch,	7 do	951 do

THE SLAVE'S CHANCE FOR KIND MASTERS.—In *one* number of the Chronicle & Sentinel, Augusta, Georgia, we lately found 21 advertisements of slaves for sale.—Of this number, 6 were *sheriff's* sales, advertising men, women, and children, *seized for their master's debts*, to be sold at public auction, with tools, carts, oxen, &c. The remainder were administrators' and executors' sales. If any of these poor creatures had kind masters, what was their chance for a continuance of the blessing?

SLAVERY VS. THE CONSTITUTION.—The following is a law of Alabama:

"*And be it further enacted*, That it shall be lawful for any person to seize and make a slave for life, to his own use, any free person of color who may have come into the State of Alabama since the year 1832; *and be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for a person to seize upon and make a slave for life, *any* free person of color who may be found in the State of Alabama after the passage of this act, and who shall have come into the State since its passage."—*Approved Feb.* 2, 1839.

Constitution of the United States, Art. 4, *Sec.* 2.—"The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States."

AMERICAN SLAVERS.—It will be remembered that the schooner Catharine, a beautiful craft, fitted out at Baltimore, was sent into New-York by British cruisers, to be tried by our laws, on charge of being engaged in the slave trade. The vessel was condemned and sold; but Mr. Buchanan, the British Counsl refused to sell 150 pair of iron manacles found on board. He would not even sell them for old iron; and they are now lying at his office. The vessel was under our flag, and commanded by American citizens; but we have never heard that any penalty was inflicted on them.

Congressional.

IN SENATE.

Various memorials have been presented on the subject of the tariff, which gave rise to discussion on the compromise act.

Mr. Tallmadge, chairman of the select committee on the currency, presented a very elaborate report on the Exchequer.

On the 21st, a message was received from the President of the United States, enclosing a communication from the Secretary of State, in reply to the resolution of the Senate, adopted on the 18th inst. at the instance of Mr. Walker, calling for information in relation to the action taken by this government, in the Creole case.

Mr. Walker requested that the communication should be read, which was done.

It contained the Secretary of State's letter to Mr. Everett, informing him of the circumstances of the Creole case, as reported in the two protests already published; and also of the grounds upon which this government would rest in her demand of redress from the British government. In Mr. Webster's instructions to Mr. Everett, he quotes largely from Mr. Stevenson's correspondence with Lords Palmerston and Aberdeen, and argues at much length, and with great clearness, the same doctrines maintained by Mr. Stevenson on the general principles involved in the controversy, and applies those principles to the Creole case. He then urges his reasons for hoping the present administration of Great Britain will yield to the justness of those principles, and that such redress as this country has a right to expect, will be given. He also alludes to the special mission from England to negotiate existing differences, and states the propriety of Mr. Everett's being governed in his remonstrance by the nature of the powers given to the special minister.

Mr. Walker, of Mississippi, expressed his gratification that so satisfactory a communication had resulted from his resolution. It would be admitted by all who had listened to the reading of the document now before the Senate, that the arguments which it contains are drawn up with great ability, and, what is still better, with great force of truth and just principles. He considered it as confirmatory of the doctrines before urged by the senator from South Carolina, [Mr. Calhoun,] in his resolutions, unanimously adopted by the Senate on a former occasion. He hoped sincerely Lord Aberdeen would be found more reasonable than Lord Palmerston, and that the present administration of Great Britain would do ample justice to this country, finding that Lord Palmerston's doctrines are untenable, and that on every principle of national justice, the grounds he assumed should be abandoned. The new administration in England came into power by a majority so large, that it must feel itself strong enough to adopt principles founded on an enlarged and enlightened basis of policy. He moved that the communication be printed and referred to the committee on foreign relations.

Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, seconded the motion, and took the occasion to say that he had heard the document read with great pleasure. He considered it covered the whole ground, and trusted it would be the means of putting an end to the dangerous doctrines which had been maintained on this subject. That document, coming from any other quarter, could not have equal effect; but coming from the source it did, it was calculated to produce the best results. His object in rising was to second the motion of the Senator from Mississippi, and to move that a thousand additional copies be printed.

The communication was referred to the committee on foreign relations. The motion to print a thousand copies was referred to the committee on printing.

Mr. Buchanan, of Peunsylvania, presented petitions from various counties in Pennsylvania, expressing the opinion that the iron manufacturers cannot exist under the foreign competition, which will take place when the duty shall be reduced to 20 per cent. and asking Congress to restore the duty on that article to what it was in 1839; also, twenty eight memorials from the city and county of Philadelphia, asking Congress to exercise its constitutional power for the purpose of abolishing the slave trade, and slavery, in the District of Columbia.

Mr. King, of Alabama. Do the memorials come from women, or men?

Mr. Buchanan. Women.

Mr. King. They are well employed, indeed! They had better attend to their proper duty.

Mr. Linn moved that the question of reception be laid upon the table; and the motion was agreed to.

Mr. Buchanan presented five petitions, from women of Pennsylvania, (he remarked, ladies, no doubt,) asking Congress to pass such a law as may exempt them from indirectly supporting involuntary servitude; also, a petition, signed by Sarah Pugh, the president of a female abolition society, asking Congress to exercise their constitutional power to amend the Constitution, so as not to permit any interference in the establishment or maintenance of slavery in that or any other State.

On motion of Mr. King, the question of reception was laid on the table.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Business of various kinds on hand, but not much *done*.

On the 21st, Mr. Wise presented a petition from the sixteenth Congressional District of Ohio, praying Congress to adjourn.

Resolutions were presented in great numbers by other gentlemen, amongst which there were resolutions to rescind the 21st rule—to reduce the revenue cutter service force, and devolve the duties on the regular force of the navy, &c. &c.

Mr. Slade, of Vermont, offered a resolution calling on the Executive for the number of slaves that have been removed from this District to be sold in other parts of the United States. Objected to.

On the 22d, being the birth-day of Washington, both houses adjourned.

23d. The death of the venerable Lewis Williams, long called "*The Father of the House*" was announced with deep feeling.

J. Q. Adams, who had known and loved him for years, commemorated his death with an outburst of eloquence from the heart.

For *twenty-seven* years, continuously, Mr. Williams represented in Congress the thirteenth Congressional District of North Carolina; a peculiar mountainous region in the northwest of the State, which with the neighboring section of Tennessee is often called "the Switzerland of America." He was but twenty-seven years old when he began his Congressional career. He is said to have been distinguished for firmness, integrity, independence, and kindliness of heart; and for a course remarkably uniform and consistent. His votes on the recent propositions to censure the venerable ex-president showed an honest regard for justice He died suddenly of a rapid lung fever.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign Items.

TEXAS.

Hon. James Riley, the new minister from Texas to the United States, has arrived at Washington. As soon as Gen. Hamilton arrived in Texas, he hurried up to Austin, in company with Mr. Pierson, the new Charge des Affaires from Belgium, to prevent the adjournment of Congress. He and Mr. Pierson are said to have important pecuniary offers to make that body, in behalf of the Belgian government. The Galveston Civilian, speaking of Gen. Hamilton, states, that independently of any direct financial negotiation, of which he may have laid the basis, he brings out a plan for an extensive sale and settlement of the public lands of Texas in and from Europe, by which a large portion of the existing public debt may be absorbed, and fresh resources created for the country. It says that those of the Santa Fe prisoners who can establish their American citizenship will, without doubt, be soon released, as also the English. It thinks, moreover, that Santa Anna will hesitate to involve himself in difficulty, and that he will therefore release the prisoners; it also adds the following paragraph:

"Some well informed persons believe that he is now more disposed to negotiate than fight with Texas; and the extremely liberal arrangement he has entered into with Yucatan, indicates, pretty strongly, his preference for pacific measures. Texas only desires to know whether he is for peace or war, and is equally willing for either. We understand that Gen. Houston, to whom Santa Anna owes his life and liberty, and acknowledges great obligations, has written to him for a frank avowal of his intentions; offering to settle the question either by negotiation or arms. Gen. H. it is said, offers to meet him in the valley of the Neuces, with one Texan for every three Mexicans, and let the result decide the fate of Texas; and there is not a man in the country who is unwilling to second the proposition, or be one of the arbiters of the controversy."

A Texan schooner captured a vessel off Vera Cruz, supposed to be one of the war schooners fitted out at New-York; but it proved to be a merchantman, called The Preciosa.

A correspondent of the New-York Herald writes thus from Merida de Yucatan, January 4:

"The farce has ended here; and the people of the 'free republic' of Yucatan are again, by their own free will, under the domination of Mexico. About the 12th of December, Sig. D. Quintana Roo, commissioner from Mexico, with suite, arrived in Merida; Congress then being in session, arranging matters *to act with Texas*, and Commodore Moore being expected daily. They were on the point, in fact, of declaring their independence as a free nation. Matters, however, took another turn. The Mexican gold did the work quickly, and they forfeited their honor with Texas, and formed a treaty with Mexico. Scarcely had the commissioners turned their backs on Merida, when Commodore Moore and squadron bolted into the scene of action. He arrives in Merida, has an interview with the Governor and cabinet, and propounds to them the following questions: 'Gentlemen, I am here; are you ready to co-operate?' 'No!' '*Will you assist me in taking certain Mexican towns?*' 'No!' '*Will you take possession of three Mexican towns, if I will capture them within ten days?*' 'No!' and the interview ended by his asking for proofs to show his government. In the mean time, a curious scene was being enacted at the port of Sisal. The commissioners had chartered an United States vessel, called the Louisa, to convey the party to Vera Cruz. Captain W. of the San Antonio, becoming alarmed at the prolonged absence of the commodore, receiving no advices, and hearing of the treaty, sent a polite letter to said commissioners, telling them that they must come on board his vessel. They and the captain protested against the disrespect of the 'Bandero Americano,' to no purpose. The secretary, however, was instantly despatched to Merida, to be assured of the safety of the commodore; who, on hearing the state of affairs, wrote an order for their immediate deliverance. So matters stand at present; and as you will perceive, there must be trouble here ere long. The commodore despatches a vessel instanter to communicate with his government."

A steamboat runs continually between Galveston and New Orleans, and the southern press betrays intense interest in all news from Texas.

The New Orleans Picayune states that the treaty with Great Britain for the suppression of the slave trade, has been ratified.

The Galveston University commenced its spring session on the 31st ultimo, with about ninety students.

The President, it is feared, will make a perfect split with the House. He has vetoed no less than eight bills in one day; and upon one of those he had vetoed being again taken up, the House of Representatives passed the bill over his head, by a vote of 30 to 1; and the sole minority man explained that he had voted *No* with regret, for the sake of consistency, having originally voted against the bill.

There has been a mutiny on board the Texan schooner San Antonio. The men were drunk, and insisted upon going on shore. Lieutenant Fuller was killed in the scuffle. Nine of the mutineers have been arrested.

It has been decided by the United States' authorities at New Orleans, that those of the Texan mutineers in that port, who were concerned in the murder of the officer, should be detained and tried for murder; while those engaged in mutiny only, should be sent to Texas for trial.

How would they like to have the British authorities decide in a similar way about the Creole?

A. F. Kendall, first musician in the unfortunate Santa Fe expedition, is a nephew of Amos Kendall, late Postmaster General.

Young Coombs has arrived safely in New Orleans.—He describes the Mexican officers as in a great rage with the Texans; at which there can be no wonder. He complains that the prisoners were bound together with hair ropes and thongs of raw hide, and tied to the saddles of the horses, on which the guard were mounted; and if any of them fell down, or lagged behind, they were dragged on the ground and beaten. He does not inform us whether this ever reminded them of slavery, or the internal slave trade. He says they were obliged to march three days, thirty miles each, without food, and even without a drink from the streams through which they passed. This seems too tough a story. In Mexico, they worked as street scavengers, with log chains about their ancles; as slaves do in New Orleans, who give any signs of loving freedom too well.

President Houston has published a Proclamation for a National Fast, (farce) to commemorate their independence. It is prefaced thus: "Whereas, it is a decorous and becoming acknowledgment of that feeling which evinces to our fellow-men, and to nations, that we entertain a profound belief in the existence of an Almighty God, who controls the destinies of the world—whose favor we invoke, and whose wrath we deprecate: And whereas, the Texan people have been objects of the peculiar care and interposition of a divine Providence; and after the chastisements of His will, He has manifested His abundant kindness, by enabling them to occupy a place among the independent governments of the earth: Therefore," &c.

JAMAICA.

The American press has been chuckling over the idea that there was a real "raw head and bloody bones" story from Jamaica, at last. They have represented that "the negroes have defeated her Majesty's troops in a pitched battle, and compelled the commander-in-chief to fly."

The Falmouth Post gives the following as the probable version of the affair: "The story has arisen, we suspect, from an escape and pursuit of 30 or 40 convicts, who broke out of the district prison at Kingston. A detachment of soldiers overtook them near Spanish Town, where they had something of a bull-fight, in which six of the convicts were retaken, and some were wounded; the others got away, but subsequently eight more were recaptured. Another was killed by a private individual, who overtook him and cut him down with a sword. The rest were still at large, but numerous detachments were still after them, in all directions."

General Items.

Horrible Tragedy.—A painful scene occurred in the council chamber at Wiskonsin, on February 11th. Enos S. Baker was nominated for sheriff of Grant county. James R. Vineyard, a member of the council, wished to obtain the office for his brother, and he made some violent speeches denouncing the nomination. A dispute arose between him and Charles P. Arndt, likewise a member. Arndt, made angry by the reiterated charge of falsehood, struck at him; whereupon Vineyard drew his pistol and shot him dead instantly. The deceased left a wife and children, parents, brothers and sisters.

Wrecks.—The William Fales, a fine new ship, built at Saco, Maine, went to pieces, during the gale a fortnight since, off Old York, Maine. Of thirteen persons on board, eight perished; including every officer. Thomas McLellan, one of the lost, was but fifteen or sixteen years old, "the only son of his mother, and she a widow." The violence of the billows may be inferred from the fact, that in less than *half an hour*, from the time she struck, that new, staunch bark was broken up, and not a vestige of her to be seen!

It is greatly feared that the fine steam packet ship, Caledonia, between Boston and Liverpool, went down in the gale.

Freshets.—The water is over the turnpike road, and there was good steamboat navigation over all the dams to the Ohio. Large quantities of corn have been carried away—the canal banks are injured—and the guard lock near Tomlinson's is gone—but the extent of the injury to the canal cannot be known till the water subsides. Communication between Chilicothe and Columbus has been suspended.—*Scioto Gazette.*

Cruelty at Sea.—A terrible case was lately brought before the Marine Court of New-York. William Bonnell brought an action against Henry Schriever and William Harding, captain and mate of the ship Henry Clay, of Baltimore, for cruelties inflicted. Bonnell was no seaman, and shipped at Baltimore, as steward. He was taken sick at Havana, and was obliged to go into the hospital. The captain forced him on board, while he was yet very ill, and compelled him to do work, to which he was entirely unaccustomed, and which he had not the strength to perform. He was beaten and kicked continually, and was often seen coming out of the cabin with blood running from nose, ears, and mouth. So dreadfully was he lacerated and wounded from the various beatings he had received, that on one occasion it was necessary to have his back washed with warm water in order to loosen the shirt from his skin, to which it was stuck with the blood that flowed from his wounds. Among other freaks of wanton tyranny, he was made to stand for an hour on the poop-deck, and hold a broom in his hand pointed to the north star, and whistle for wind. The jury gave a verdict of $3000 in his favor, and probably would have awarded more, had he not laid his damages at that sum. The poor fellow has made his will, not expecting to recover from the effects of brutal treatment.

Crime and Suicide.—John G. Boyd, cashier of Towanda bank, Pennsylvania, was lately arrested for fraud on the bank. To avoid being taken to prison, he shot himself through the head. His wife and family were in the interior of the State, and he was living with a mistress, in costly style, at Philadelphia.

Startling Fact.—The Charleston Courier says that letters have been received in that city from Boston, stating that large orders have recently been despatched to the East Indies for cotton! Ships sail from Boston and Salem with ice, and return laden with this raw material. *This simple fact has set the whole South in commotion.* Their celebrated cotton crop, the only thing of substantial value they export, is in jeopardy; and forsooth, they are now crying out for protection, for a tariff! One little fact, demonstration in a small way, has utterly upset all the elaborate and learned theories of the South, on the subject of *protection.*—*Phil. Gazette.*

Wonderful Escape.—A boy about seven years old escaped unhurt, after falling three times into a well 20 feet deep, and containing 7 feet of water. He scrambled up by holding on the stones, which were literally covered with ice; and his fourth attempt was successful. He was the son of Dr. Doe, of Calais, Maine.

Narrow Escape.—On the occasion of the Boz Ball, at the Park theatre, New-York, some colored people were engaged in cooking oysters in the lobbies of the fourth tier. The floor under the furnaces was so completely burned, that a man passing over it next day fell through. Had there happened to have been any combustible materials near, the whole building would have been burned in an hour. Nearly five thousand people were in it.

Desperate Affray.—A fatal affray occurred a couple of weeks since at Lewisburg, Ark. between Dr. Menifee and a Mr. Phillips, in which both were killed. Some difference arose about a note in possession of one of them. They accidentally met—drew pistols and fired. Menifee was shot in the groin, and Phillips in the shoulder. They then drew bowie knives and closed on each other. At first cut Menifee was nearly severed in two; and Phillips's shoulder-blade laid open. Both expired on the spot.

Compensation.—A committee of the Massachusetts Legislature has reported a bill authorising a remuneration to be made to the Ursuline Convent, which was destroyed by a mob some eight years ago.

Expenses of Law.—The expenses of *Colt's trial* amount to about $2,000—of which $22 50 were for segars! and $12 for beer! furnished to the jury. The Board of Supervisors have resolved that hereafter they will not be responsible for the beer and segars furnished jurors.

Rev. John Pierpont declines the nomination of the "Liberty Party" for Governor of Massachusetts. He says: "Were I sure that the party that tenders me this nomination could give me the office itself, no earthly office or honor could induce me to desert the post of duty at which I now stand, so long as our success is doubtful, and so long as my friends in Hollis-street Society continue to stand firmly around it with me."

NOTICES.

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

A stated meeting of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at S. M. Douglas's school-room, in Seventh below Arch street, on 5th day afternoon, the 10th instant, at 3 o'clock.

The stated meetings of the society will be held on the second 5th day of every month, (except the 7th and 8th month,) alternately, afternoon and evening.

The afternoon meetings are held at S. M. Douglas's school-room in the 1st, 3d, 5th, 9th, and 11th months; and the evening meetings at Clarkson Hall, Cherry street, in the other months. ANNA M. HOPPER, *Sec'y.*

JONATHAN JEFFERSON WHITLAW.

One hundred copies of Mrs. Trollope's "Jonathan Jefferson Whitlaw," have been imported from

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WILLOW GLEN.*

All lonely, in this quiet glen,
I wander, wrapp'd in thought,
Far from the haunts of busy men,
Or ought that man has wrought.
God, the great Architect, alone
Has reared these verdant walls;
I listen to *His* spirit-tone;
Whene'er the night dew falls,
A fragrant incense fills the air;
And, softer than the finest flute,
A little brook is murmuring there,
Beneath that aged, shaggy root.
The laurel shines in glossy green,
Beside the blushing rose,
And glimpses bright are caught between,
Where'er the streamlet flows.
The nut-tree bends its lofty head,
To fan the humbler trees;
The dark leaves echo back the tread
Of the cool light-footed breeze.
Each tiny, timid, creeping thing,
That in the sunbeam plays;
Each little bird, whose shining wings
Grow brighter in its rays,
Sends up a sweet and grateful song
Of love, and joy, and praise.
And as the streamlet glides along,
Its many tenants gaze,
With glancing eyes, at heaven's blue arch,
As if they loved full well to see,
Between the leaves of the sweeping larch,
Its glorious canopy.
The shout of mirth, the cry of wo,
Are seldom uttered here;
This is the place, of all below,
To check the starting tear.
Within its shades my heart grows light,
And gentler is my spirit's tone;
The ravens in my heart take flight,
And leave me but the dove alone.
Then memory gently comes the while,
And hides her thorns with fairest flowers,
And with her wand, and blandest smile,
Restores to life departed hours.
The spirits of my dead arise,
Clad not in gloom, or wo,
But fresh from out their paradise—
How bright their vestments glow!
They beckon with their slender hands,
To haste me from this world away;
But Death alone can break the bands,
That bind me to a form of clay.
'Tis here, great God, my softened heart,
In adoration turns above;
With faith I see each joy depart,
Sustained by thy unbounded love.
Cheered onward by thy gracious smile,
My soul can never fear
A scornful world, or Satan's guile—
Oh, be thou ever near. E. A. COMSTOCK.

Darien, June 4th, 1841.

* I found this beautiful spot in my rambles, and named it after the willows that fringe its brook.

THE BLIND BOY.

The following was written for the children of the Sunday School of St. Thomas's Church, by the Rector.

It was a blessed summer day;
The flowers bloom'd, the air was mild,
The little birds poured forth their lay,
And every thing in nature smil'd.

In pleasant thought I wander'd on,
Beneath the deep wood's ample shade,
Till suddenly I came upon
Two children, who had thither stray'd.

Just at an aged beech-tree's foot,
A little boy and girl reclin'd;
His hand in her's, she kindly put,
And then I saw the boy was blind.

The children knew not I was near;
A tree conceal'd me from their view.
But all they said, I well could hear,
And I could see all they might do.

"Dear Mary," said the poor blind boy,
"That little bird sings very long;—
Say, do you see him in his joy,
And is he pretty as his song?"

"Yes, Edward, yes;" replied the maid,
"I see the bird on yonder tree,"
The poor boy sigh'd, and gently said,
"Sister, I wish that I could see.

"The flowers you say are very fair,
And bright green leaves are on the trees;
And pretty birds are singing there;
How beautiful, for one who sees!

"Yet I the fragrant flowers can smell,
And I can feel the green leaf's shade,
And I can hear the notes that swell
From these dear birds that God has made.

"So, sister—God to me is kind,
Though sight, alas! he has not given;—
But tell me—are there any blind,
Among the children up in heaven?"

"No, dearest Edward; there, all see;
But, why ask me a thing so odd?"
"Oh, Mary! He's so good to me,
I thought I'd like to look at God."

* * * * * * * * *

Ere long, disease his hand had laid
On that dear boy, so meek, so mild;
His widow'd mother wept and pray'd
That God would spare her sightless child.

He felt her warm tears on his face,
And said;—"Oh never weep for me;
I'm going to a bright, bright place,
Where, Mary says, I, God shall see,

"And you will come, dear Mary, too,
But mother! when you get up there,
Tell Edward, mother, that 'tis you;
You know I never saw you here."

He spake no more, but sweetly smil'd,
Until the final blow was given;
When God took up that poor blind child,
And open'd first his eyes in heaven.

THE SOUL.

Mind hath its earth
And Heaven. The many petty common thoughts
On which we daily tread, as it were, make one,
And above which few look; the other, is
That high and welkin-like infinity——
The brighter, upper-half of the mind's world,
Thick with great sun-like and constellate thoughts;
And in the night of mind, which is our sleep,
These thoughts shine out in dreams. Dreams double life;
They are the heart's bright shadow on life's flood;
And even the step from death to deathlessness,
From this earth's gross existence unto Heaven,
Can scarce be more than from the harsh, hot day
To sleep's soft scenes—the moonlight of the mind.
The wave is never weary of the wind,
But in mountainous playfulness leaps to it
Always; but mind gets weary of the world,
And sulks itself in sleep; like a sweet smile,
Line by line, settling into proper sadness;
For sleep seems part of our immortality;
And why should anything that dies be sad?

Festus.

Miscellany.

From Godey's Lady's Book for February.

MARY RYAN'S DAUGHTER.

BY MRS. S. C. HALL.

(*Concluded.*)

The old man took the little coin and deposited it in one of his numerous pockets, muttering, "I'll fasten it on my *bades*, God bless her, for a mimorial."

"There's one thing I often want to speak about, but can't, never *to her*," said the girl, "because it almost kills her. Do *you* know any thing of my old home, and my father?"

"Whisht, acushla! how should I know any thing; you never saw me there?"

"No, never; I wish I could forget it, but I can't. I remember my mother catching me out of my sleep, and flying from the house like mad; and mind, too, the oaths and other curses that followed us. Oh! then, I was glad to keep wandering any where from him!"

"Whisht, avourneen! it's foolish to give sorrow a tongue; what do I know about such things? Hould up yer head, sing at yer work, say yer prayers, mind yer mother, and, as the schoolmaster says, Mary Ryan's daughter will be a bright girl, yet."

Two months after this little scene had passed, the widow, on waking in the morning, found that Mary Ryan was up before her; this was something new. Peggy, indeed, was always a-foot early; the first to rise on the town land, but Mary was feeble, and seldom awoke until after the lark had finished his matins. For a moment, the widow thought the girl had grown careless; the few sods of turf necessary for boiling potatoes were there, and the three-legged pot was hanging over them; but the fire, so seldom extinguished in an Irish cabin, was out; and the kitten, singed by the turf ashes from black to red, was seated on the stone, guiltless of purr or gambol, and looking as sullen as possible.

"Where are they, Pusheen?" said the widow, who would rather talk to a cat than remain silent. "Is Peggy gone after some quality speciments for this bride and groom at the wooden bridge? but where's Mary Ryan? Oh! then, don't be winkin' that way, but tell us the news."

"Pusheen" seemed as perplexed as her mistress, and said it in her own way, uttering an abrupt mew, and then humping her back with a dissatisfied air. The morning advanced, but no Mary returned. No Peggy, with careful step and thoughtful face, swept the floor that day, or fed the hens, who looked about as if in astonishment at not receiving their usual attention; her three books were on the poor dresser; but her bonnet and shawl, and her mother's cloak were gone. Before night, Mrs. Harper had inquired of every neighbor if they had seen her friends; no one had seen them; but a "wise woman" who had been called in the middle of the night to attend a farmer's wife, had met two women and a man, as she jogged double on the farmer's horse, and was fully convinced that the youngest was Mary Ryan's daughter. The country people were both astonished and alarmed at this mysterious disappearance; and Mary's father, who had maintained his harsh conduct toward them, relented, when it was too late, and endeavored to trace them in every way. At one time, he thought they were in Erniscoothey; at another, in Bray; but still he found them not. Some called to their remembrance that they had seen Daddy Denny and Mary Ryan in close conversation several times, and on several days previous to her disappearance; but then, as the bluff old beadsman was in the confidence of half the women in the parish, nothing strange was thought of it at the time.

Mrs. Harper was in a state of distraction; and declared to every one, she would travel the world until she found them. They had replaced what was lost to her, in a great degree; and while the helpless nature of poor Mary worked upon her affections, the steady industry and activity of the daughter commanded her respect.

It was perfectly true that the beggar-man had brought information to Mary Ryan and her daughter, which obliged them to leave the roof that had so long sheltered them.

"All we got to say to you, jewel, agra," he said, when they were arranging how to steal away from Mrs. Harper, "is, tell no news, give no information to any one—now just mind that—and then we can let them know when the end comes; there's no use in rising a talk, dear—it's just like rising a fog, which bothers all who have any call to it. Avourneen, there's a tower of strength, and a rock of wisdom, in a silent tongue! I blaze out a good deal, dear, myself; but one can say a power of words without any meaning, and that's the way I manage the country; and fait, many a legislature, which means a lawmaker, ma'am, would give his two born eyes for that same sacret. Ah, yah, wisha! he's a weak-minded man that can't keep his own counsel."

By the time the morning dawned, and Mrs. Harper awoke, the trio were far on their journey, and in a different direction from any it was imagined they had taken. They agreed to keep off the high road as much as possible. It was strange to observe how Denny's mendicant propensities and his kind heart were at variance when they reached the pretty village of Newtownmounkennedy. The Wexford coach was just passing through, and it was evident the Daddy longed to prosecute his usual attack upon the pockets of the passengers; yet he was loath to forsake his companions for the purpose, and consoled himself with rejoicing that the clumsy efforts of the clamorous beggars had not procured them a single penny.

"Ah!" he exclaimed, "it's wonderful hard to soften some people's hearts; they have no feelin' in them for the poor. I've heard a gentleman swear he wouldn't give a beggar-woman a farthing, barring she had some fun in her; and, at the same time, she had a matter of six soft children starving to death, in the sight of her eyes—it's hard to make fun out of starving children! The insides and the outsides must have different treatment altogether. You may pass a joke with the outsides, and touch them up with a story betwixt times; but seeing it's mostly ladies and gentleman that's inside, they must be handled like a nest of young thrushes. No matter how ould they are—the ladies I mean—a blessing on their beauty, will smoothen all the frowns away. I remember once, a very stately one, and frosty-faced she was—an ould resideuter upon the earth, sure enough: one poor, innocent young woman held up her baby to her, and bid her think of her own little grandchildren at home. Och! that turned her to chilly vinegar! Another prayed the Lord might make her bed in Heaven. Well, that's foolish, for people that are rich and ould, don't like to think of their end: not a halfpenny did they get; but at last, 'Sweet lady,' I says, 'I'm thinking of the little sixpence you give me two years ago, and God bless you for it.'"

"That's a lie!" she says, "for I never gave a beggar a sixpence in all my life."

"Didn't ye, dear?" I says; "well, then, it must have been Lady Mary, the beauty of the country; and it's no wonder I'd make the mistake, for you're as like as two peas." I saw the corners of her mouth move up and down, and she gave me a penny! If ye see a law college boy, with a goold band to his cap, sure he wants to be thought on the military line, and ye're safe in calling him 'handsome captain,' or 'noble major.' I've known a shopboy have the same dress outside on a week's holiday to their people; there's no harm in mistaking every spalpeen you meet for a gentleman, though," added Denny, thoughtful; "it's not pleasant to be degrading one's self, if one could help it. When ye see a lady with little children about her, *praise* the children; and, if they're as ugly as frogs, lay on them all kinds of angels; and if they're roaring wicked with ill-temper, call them 'little lambs;' then, if she has any motherly feeling about her, you're sure of a tester. It's easy enough to work the money out of any pocket, if ye can understand the *nature* of the body that carries it—that's where the knowledge is wanting. Foreigners are mighty soft, and there used to be great trade entirely at House, and about there. Women with twins, as near to match as they could get 'em—widows—deserted wives, and fatherless children—lame men, and the falling sickness—but that's over long ago. In the heart of the war I made a purty penny myself, as wounded soldier, with a plate in my hand, and a bad leg—any thing for a bit of bread! Sure the half of us would work if we could get it; and the Lord above knows that the lies we tould *for variety*, weren't worse than the truth. That the plain, hard, griping starvation was with us, at home and abroad, by night and day, that was true, any how; but people had heerd that so often, they did not like to be bothered with it. So after all's said and done, it was against that we strove—God help us, and forgive us the inventions—starvation makes one's wits bright! Bedad! I was so thin, one or two of the hard summers, that if it wasn't that I had the wit to put stones in my wallet, I'd have been blown away."

I wish I had space to recount all Daddy Denny's stories; some of them could not fail to make you weep; and his transitions from humor to pathos, were truly characteristic of his calling. There are many who cannot fail to remember this energetic, yet lazy personage, who latterly begged from habit rather than necessity, and who was at all times trusty, and trusted by many of his superiors, particularly in the time of "the troubles," when, I have been told, he was in the prime of life, and rendered humane assistance to whosoever needed it.

The wanderers had journeyed for nearly a week, on the evening of the fifth day, "Do you know where you are, Peggy?" inquired Mary Ryan of her daughter.

"I think I do," replied the girl; "I think I know the turn of that river. I think—yes, I do know these trees; that's just the way the crows used to be flying, with the same noise. Yes, mother, though I never looked from this hill before, I know that big brick house, and the gate stuck fast just as it is, which I used to be climbing, but never could swing on. Och!" she added, with an involuntary shudder, "I hope we ain't going to live there again?"

"Whisht, honey! whisht!" ejaculated the beggarman; "wishing is a mighty foolish thing for those who put their trust in God. Sure, every thing will turn out well to those who have faith, dear; if not well for this world, well for the next. I'll go now and hear the news, and you can sit here with yer mother 'till I'm back, acushla," and away went Denny at his own particular and professional trot.

Peggy found a "dry ditch" for her mother to rest on; and having rolled her own shawl into a "soft sate," she made her sit upon it, placing herself higher up, so that her mother's head rested in her lap.—The worn-out woman did not speak a word for more than an hour; but the large tears kept rolling from her eyes, while her daughter murmured every now and then, "Mother, avourneen! don't take on so;" "Mother, darlin,' you're tearin' out my heart;" "Mother, honey, trust in the Lord;" "Oh, what will I do at all, and no one near me; she'll die here, with the fair trouble o' mind."

"Trouble is a long time killin', or I'd have been dead long ago," replied her mother, to whom the shedding of tears had been a relief; "but I'm easier now, God be praised; and, Peggy, the time is come for me, your mother, to humble myself to tell you, my born child, the whole truth."

"Don't distress yourself, darlin' mother! don't—I know all I want to know," replied the girl, with a trembling voice; "where's the good of going it over again—for what?"

"You know nothing, Peggy; how should you?"

"Oh, bad news travels with hare's feet," she answered; "but don't, mother—I'll be happier not to hear it from your own self; because then I'd be thinking, maybe, the half was lies."

"Peggy, honey, and in sight of his house, and under the blessed canopy of Heaven, and knowing the Almighty's eyes are on me—as sure as all this, so surely am I your father's wife." The girl at first made no reply, but clasped her hands around her parent's neck, and at last said:

"An' why didn't you tell me this before? sure, if it was a sacret, not to take away my shame, would I own it—only just for inward satisfaction to myself?"

"Why, you never let on to me that you were reproached with it, my darlin'."

"No, mother, how could I? Sure, it isn't easing my own heart by chilling yours, I'd be; but what does it signify? I'm able for the world, now! I can look an honest woman's daughter in the face. Oh, mother, jewel, and I to doubt *you*."

"You must hold your tongue still, Peggy, until I give you leave to speak. Your father, dear, was above me; and I'd never have known him, but for his coming about our place in the shooting season.—My father and mother had fixed on one in my own line of life for me; and I knew I'd be forced to marry him if I staid at home; and all the time my heart's whole love was with your father. I tried to hide this from my father and mother, as well as from the young man I loved; but, och hone! I blinded my parents, but not my lover. I was proud of his love—he was so above me; and he said he was proud of my beauty. Well, dear, I agreed to leave my parents, as he promised to marry me; but, as he was entirely dependent on his father, he bookswore me to keep it secret from man and mortal, till his father's death. I was satisfied, and went with him one Sunday evening, to return no more. He eased my heart with a marriage; but there was only us two by, and the priest—if he was a priest—who said the words. For the first few months, he was very kind; and though I was under the heaviest shadow that can fall on a woman, still I was his wife, and I bowed under it, thankful to look at him—to hear him speak; though his words became mixed with bitterness, still the voice was his. You were born; and what was such joy to me, was sorrow to him. His father, he said, grew frightened for fear he should marry me; and, instead of being allowed to sit at his table, he sent me to the kitchen, there to bear the insults of an old bad woman, whose daughter had filled my place. Oh, my darling child! may the Lord preserve you from the double death of finding out, bit by bit, that what you loved was below hate. Still, I clung to him. I longed to go home, and then thought how I had no home. My mother was kind, but I had a hard father. I thought, maybe, that being his wife, God might turn his heart; and I told him so, once. Oh, the cruelty of that laugh, when he answered that I was a fool, and dared me to find a witness for what had passed between us. As long as I thought to do him good, it was well enough; but I roused against this, and he turned us from his door with curses and blows—blows, darlin', that fell only on me. I thought to tell his father the truth; but even if I hadn't taken the oath, sure it would hurt him and not have served you—for I wouldn't be believed. Since then, darlin', he openly married one of his own rank; for his father died!"

"And why did we come here, mother, darlin'; and what has Daddy Denny to do with us?" asked Peggy.

"There's no time to tell that," interrupted the beggar, who had approached, without being observed; "no time, the breath's in him, still; and the use he made of it, for the last twenty minutes, is to rave about you; and my heart aches for the poor lady, who is patient as a lamb, and begs for God's sake to bring any one that will ease his mind."

"Then you were sent for, mother, dear?" inquired the poor girl, while assisting her to rise.

"Yes, dear; Daddy contrived to get a friend of his own into the place; and when your father got this mortal sickness, he brought me to be near, thinking that, at the last, he might do us justice."

The three hurried to the house, which was full of lamentation, and people running backwards and forwards, crying and howling for "the master." The priest, who had administered "the last rites," was standing near the door, reproving the more noisy.

Dennis advanced to his reverence, and falling on his knees to crave his blessing, which was quickly granted, told him that "the woman his honor wanted to see, was come."

"Then you have had a hand in this," said the priest; "but so best, Denny; if you never do worse, the next penance I give you—and I gave you one, I remember, about six years ago—will not put you to much trouble. Let the woman come in."

"God bless your reverence. I've been to many a knee, and am grateful to yer honor for yer mercy," replied the beggar, humbly:

In another moment, Mary Ryan and her daughter were in the hall. "I will go up with you," said the priest; "and the young girl can remain here."

When Mary entered the chamber of death, the last throes of dissolving nature were convulsing the frame of the dying man! She staggered towards the bed, from which the lady he had married had been forcibly removed; and, falling on her knees, clasped and kissed his clammy hand. He rallied, and recognized her; he felt her hand, finger by finger; and when he touched the ring, he half rose up, stammered "Mary," fell back, and his spirit departed.

The poor woman forgot everything, save the love of her early days. She uttered no complaint of his cruelty and injustice; but she wept bitterly. Not so Dennis; he had expected that wrong would have been made right; and he followed "his reverence" out of the house, when every beggar in the district crowded into it, expectant of the tobacco and whisky, besides other good cheer, which in those days accompanied the funeral of high and low. Whatever his conversation with the priest may have been, it was known only to themselves; but it had the effect of sending Denny back to the house, where he mingled among the crowd. An Irish wake, forty years ago, was a strange assembly of high and low, rich and poor; the body laid out according to its rank, candles and incense burning, and every one who desired, permitted to enter into the awful presence of the dead—where, having first dropped upon their knees, and said a brief prayer, they forthwith proceeded to talk and laugh, only pausing to join in the wail of lamentation of the paid mourners, who ever and anon raised high the "keen," in extemporising on the loss of the deceased. This painful exhibitition generally took place in the largest room of the house, while the others were filled with people all occupied in the same manner; the very lowest class remaining (after taking one look at the departed) in the kitchen offices, where they drank and ate; and it would have been a disgrace to the memory of the dead, if everything was not conducted on a "liberal plan"—a scale befitting the fame of Irish hospitality. Many bereaved families plunged deeper and deeper in debt, that they might comply with this semi-barbarous custom; which, generally speaking, is now modified, and brought within a moderate compass. Among such varied groups the beggar-man wandered, seeking Mary Ryan, or her daughter, and hoping that they might not have left the house before he had spoken with either one or the other. At last, one of the servants told him that the woman the "poor master called for" had fallen into such a state of insensibility, that she had carried her to a loft, and that, for her part, she didn't think she'd live. "And the girl?" She knew nothing about her, except that she "had set a strange girl in a back house to mind the buildings, or there'd be nothing for the people to eat, the dwelling was so thronged, and would be worse, as the night drew on. She locked her in, and wouldn't have thought of her for another hour or two, but for him."—Dennis reconnoitered through a window, and, finding that the unwilling watcher was Mary's daughter, accomplished her liberation; and, having first told her on no account, no matter what indignity she or her mother suffered, to leave the house until he told them they might do so, he sent her in search of Mary Ryan. After much delay, and many repulses, Peggy succeeded. It was a miserable loft, in a distant part of the tumbling building, where Mary had been carried; the slates were off, in many places; and the wind rushed through the shadowy laths, tumbling at every fresh gust some lump of mortar or clattering tile. As the night advanced, the voices of many intoxicated persons, mingled into one great discordant noise, ascended to where the heart-broken girl was chafing her mother's hands, while she laid across her feet to impart a portion of her young warmth to her parent's weary limbs. She had arranged some old curtains, that had been thrown into a corner to decay, into a tolerably comfortable bed, and moistened her lips with some milk which the servant had given her for herself. Her consolation was that they were left to themselves; and from behind a parapet she could see all that passed in the court-yard. The moon rose to its full height, and the shadows it threw upon the floor were, she thought, very terrible.

Once a huge cat peered down upon her from a rafter, and then scampered away, while bits of the old roof tumbled on all sides. She was shivering from head to foot, and the old damp hangings she threw over her shoulders seemed to make her still more cold; but her mother slept, breathing as gently as a sleeping child; *that*, at least, was a consolation; if it had not increased her loneliness the more, it would indeed have made her heart beat with thankfulness and joy. She knelt softly down by her mother's side, and after repeating her prayers, she enumerated to herself every instance she had ever heard of God's watchful care by night as well as by day. This strengthened and refreshed her; and yet every cloud that pressed athwart the moon, and so caused a partial eclipse to the small, shivering, chilly light which flickered through the aperture, made her repeat the words more fervently. Sometimes she would fix her eyes on a bright, solitary star, and then turn them on her mother, who looked in the dim, uncertain light, so deathly pale that the girl would hold in her own breath to listen for the manifestation that she was still in life Suddenly she was roused from a nodding sleep by the fall of a stone or brick which rattled into the room, followed by a heavy grunting sort of a noise, as of a person breathing hard after violent exertion. A shriek quivered on her lip, but she repressed it, and immediately felt the wisdom of having done so.

"Peg, Peggy, avoureen," puffed a well-known voice, "don't be frightened, darlin'; its me, a cushla machree, old Daddy Denny: wait till I catch my breath, which is flying from me like a widgeon from a gun. Och, hone! I'm too ould for climbing, and couldn't have reached you at all, but for the tough bames of the stable, and a ladder, dear, that Peter Mullowny's houlding. I've got the girl of the house, dear, to forget where yez are; and so keep quiet till ye'r wanted, jewel; and here's more than ye'll ait. I know, for the three days of the wake, or drink aither, fresh mate and white bread of *your own* father's i mane; for, poor man, God be good to him, he's to the fore still, and a fine wake as ever I was at; lashings of every thing, more especially people; the lady has a fine spirit in her; an', but faix, dear, my head's bothered somehow, and the moon's turning round on me; so, the Lord be wid yez; I needn't bid ye take care of yer mother, for sure it's Mary Ryan's daughter ye are; and pray for yer sinful soul—I mean my—hould hard and fast Peter, dear, for somehow, both myself and the ladder's mighty unsteady."

Such were the last distinct words the girl heard from her elevated friend; but she crept to the parapet, had the satisfaction of seeing him safely on the roof of the stable, and then, though the ladder did fall with a crash, which, if there had not been a greater noise elsewhere, would have called forth the inmates of the house, he descended safely; and she heard his voice raised to the tune of Ally Croker, in which another equally broken and inharmonious joined, while crossing the court-yard. Again she prayed; and, at last, creeping closely to her mother, the two slept beneath a roof which had refused them shelter in the days of their utter helplessness.

"The girl of the house" did, to all appearance, forget Mary Ryan and her daughter; but some one, every morning, placed a full measure of milk at the rough door of the loft—a measure so full that, after both had partaken abundantly thereof, they had enough to cause the great cat, which had so frightened Mary the first night, to purr and look as contented and cheerful as became the solidity and respectability of his ancient race. Still these three days and nights passed in all the aching anxiety of knowing nothing, and hoping and fearing all things. At last the wild, yet solemn pageantry was over. The hearse, the mourners, the priests, and people departed. Mary Ryan watched from the broken roof the road it took—the same road she and her child had traversed in years long ago. They had returned; but he who drove them to despair would return no more. Holy masses were said for the repose of his soul that day; but none prayed so fervently for his eternal repose as she whose heart he had crushed almost to bursting.

Peggy wept and prayed, from sympathy with her mother; but she could hardly keep down the spirit of strong indignation that was roused by a full sense of the injustice they had sustained; and no hart ever panted for the water brooks more than she did for liberty.

Before the funeral was completely out of sight, the only noise that broke upon the stillness of the house was the rough shutting to of doors, and the echo of footsteps. At last "the girl of the house" made her appearance, and beckoning them to follow down a half ladder, half stair, conducted them to a large parlor, from which the remnants of the entertainment had been hastily removed, and thrust them with very little ceremony and sundry mutterings of "being bothered with the like," into a sort of anteroom, to which it led The door hung loosely on its hinges, and remained unclosed. Presently a pale, gentle-looking woman entered the room, and her widow's dress made Mary's heart beat more quickly. She was followed by others, who had returned from the funeral; and in a short time the party were placed round the table, the priest being seated at the widow's right hand, while the attorney of the next town intimated his intention of reading the Will of his "late respected friend."

He read and read; and all that Mary Ryan and her daughter could comprehend was, that he read the same thing over and over again, until, at last,—was it, could it be possible? were they awake? was it reality? could he who had that day entered the cold and silent grave, could *he* have made such a confession? Mary Ryan his only lawful wife! and such and such lands to pass to her and her child, *thereby hoping to make atonement for his sins*. Peggy felt her mother sinking, and clasped her in her arms; after this, all was confusion: the lady who had been so grossly deceived, was carried from the room totally insensible. Her brother, roused at such indignity, declared the man must have been out of his senses, and that there was no proof; and while the attorney declared the man's perfect sanity, the priest said that without, of course, violating the sacredness of the confessional, there *was* proof; and Daddy Denny was brought forward, who declared he had witnessed the marriage, by means anything but straightforward, certainly; and of this fact even Mary Ryan was not aware until that moment. Daddy Denny was very unwilling to be cross-questioned on the subject, but was obliged to submit; and certainly the evidence was very clear, even according to his own showing, that he had been courting "a responsible woman," the servant to the "couple beggar," who performed the hasty ceremony, and that she had put him in press, in a corner cupboard, to be out of the way, from whence he saw Mary married. After all, the woman jilted him; and at any other time his bitterness on the subject would have created much amusement. Mary and her daughter had come forth in the *mele*, and if a doubt had existed of the nobleness of Mary's nature, it would have vanished before the earnestness which she evinced that nothing might be done "to hurt the poor lady's feelings, who had meant no harm."

Daddy Denny always stoutly denied that he knew the contents of the will—how should he? But his anxiety to keep Mary and her daughter in the house was (I quote his own words,) "entirely from a drame he had."

Be that as it may; Peggy, or as she was called on the evening of her changed fortunes, *Miss* Margaret, is living still; and often speaks to him she loves best in all the world—her husband—of the enduring patience and virtue of her mother, who lived meekly and prosperously during the remainder of her few years, and died soon after her daughter became a wife

What a privilege it is to know a person unspoiled by prosperity! Mary's daughter is one of these.—I have sat with her upon her mother's grave, and heard her story, of which I am the faithful chronicler; and at that time, the beggar-man, then hale and hearty as a frosty day, stood beside us. Since then, *he* has fallen asleep; but I well remember the proud expression of his bright face as he asked me what I thought of Mary Ryan's daughter?

THE SLAVEHOLDER AMONG FREEMEN.

[*Scene in the Massachusetts Legislature.*]

During the sittings of the committee of the House of Representatives, on Thursday last, and while Wendell Phillips, Charles L. Remond, and Ellis Gray Loring were addressing the committee on the subject of railroad outrages on the rights of our colored citizens, and other anti-slavery matters, (which, by the bye, they did, in a very happy and effective manner,) our attention was drawn to a sombre, grave, dark-visaged, vinegar-countenanced personage, whose aspect could scarcely fail to attract notice, even in that great and somewhat crowded assembly. He stood facing us, in the avenue leading from the entrance into the hall, bolt upright, buttoned up to the chin in his dark, blue frock coat, his sparse hair, somewhat tinctured with silver, diverging like the quills of the roused and bristling porcupine. His complexion must have been a dark sallow, but inward suppressed emotion had blanched his sunken cheeks and compressed his lips into a deathly, ashy paleness. He was evidently in deep thought, absorbed attention, intense agony. Yet he moved not, nor raised his eye, nor relaxed or changed a muscle of his features. We watched to see whether it were not a statue, or some petrified specimen of humanity, that, like Lot's wife, had been suddenly transfixed into a pillar of salt. The occasional winking of his eye-lids decided the case that he was yet living. But what a spectacle! What a contrast to the cheered and gladdened visages around him, lit up, as they were, by the rich treat furnished them by our abolition orators. What a subject for the pencil of a painter, or the harp of the poet! A Milton, had he been present, might have gained a clearer vision of a lost spirit. There he stood, for a full hour or more, the perfect personification of the *slave power*, discomfited and despairing, yet unrepentant and unyielding. At length, wearied by his standing position, and while our colored brother, Remond, was electrifying the audience, the spectre glided warily by him, and sunk down into a vacant seat near us. "Do you notice that man?" whispered a friend at our elbow. "Yes, who is he?" we responded. "It is Mr. H. editor of a paper at M——, in Georgia," responded our informant. "I know him well, and have roomed with him in the same hotel in——."

It was a sight we shall not soon forget. When we would conceive of the slave power in the coming crisis of its death gasp, we have only to recall the image of the southern editor in the Massachusetts Hall of Representatives.

ANOTHER INCIDENT.—At the same sitting of the committee, and when C. L. Remond was about rising to speak, a stranger near us remarked "He will have to ask his master what to say." "Wait till you have first heard him," we responded. As Remond sat down, we turned to the gentleman and inquired, "What do you think of him now?" "Why, I think," said he, "the colored man is rather the ablest man of the two."—*Emancipator.*

Miscellaneous Items.

DISHONESTY ON A LARGE SCALE.—The legislature of Indiana have adjourned, *sine die*, and made no provision for paying the principal, or accruing interest of the State debt, which amounts to some *seventeen millions of dollars!* About two millions was incurred in taking stock in her own bank, which is probably good, or nearly so. Ten millions have probably been spent in various works of internal improvement; and the balance has been lost, by selling her bonds on credit to insolvents, or wasted through imprudence, or mismanagement.

Yet Indiana is more than rich enough to pay her debts. It is said her citizens possess property actually worth two hundred millions of dollars. She has one million head of cattle, one million of sheep, two millions of hogs, raises thirty to forty millions of bushels of corn, six to ten millions of bushels of wheat, and far more of coarse grains per annum.—Her annual product cannot be worth less than fifty millions of dollars, and might, by energy and industry, be easily raised to seventy-five, or even one hundred millions.

WISKONSAN.—This territory is in debt, without legal responsibility, some $150,000. Bonds were issued to the supposed amount of $39,000, bearing an interest of ten per cent.; but no record was kept of the names of persons to whom the bonds were issued, or of the services for which the money borrowed was paid; or, indeed, of the amount!! Governor Doty thinks the holders must look to Congress for their pay, as the territorial government is not authorised to contract a debt without the consent of Congress. It is testimated that Wiskonsan has, this year, produced over twenty millions of pounds of lead; and that the receipts from the sale of lands within the territory during the same period, were equal to $384,286. This is the average for the past three years.

ANOTHER WARNING.—As the Philadelphia train from New-York was entering upon the bridge over the Passaic, Mr. Robert Willis, lately a commission merchant of New-York, went out upon the platform of one of the cars. At the moment, the train entered on a curve, and Mr. Willis was thrown off by the usual but sudden motion of the car, being precipitated about fifteen feet down the bank against a post. Medical aid was instantly called, but he died in six hours.

BROTHER JONATHAN.—A pile-driving machine, imported from America, and called "Brother Jonathan," is now in use on the Surry side of the New Hungerford Market Bridge. It is worked by a locomotive engine of ten horse power; and the blow given by the hammer or monkey, as it descends, is 600 tons. By this means, two piles of the largest size, are driven nearly their whole length into the earth, in about eight minutes, or perhaps less; a circular horizontal saw is worked by the engine, which, in a few seconds, cuts the tops of the piles even. The saving of labor by this invention is immense.

RECORD YOUR DEEDS.—The Trenton State Gazette says: A case came within our knowledge yesterday, in which a poor woman lost all she was worth, by neglecting to record a deed. The deed was executed ten years ago, but not knowing the importance of recording it, she did not bring it to the clerk's office, until yesterday; when it appeared that the person who sold her the property had since encumbered it with two mortgages. Several judgments have also been obtained against him, and the property is now advertised for sale by the sheriff. So that by neglecting to get her deed recorded, the poor woman has lost her property.

CHEAP BOARDING.—The Philadelphia North American says, that an organization of beggars in a street of that city recently existed for the purpose of supplying a cheap boarding house with provisions.—These caterers for the table received their pay in whisky. By this economical mode of marketing, the landlord has acquired a handsome fortune.

AN AGED WOMAN.—The Troy Whig gives an account of a colored woman of that city, who died on the 23d inst. at the advanced age of 135 years!—She was a native of Africa, and was kidnapped and brought to this country when she was fifteen years old. When she first came to Troy, there were but two houses in that vicinity, and but few in Schenectady, and New-York was a wilderness.

THE AMERICAN CHARACTER ABROAD.—Everybody knows that our State and corporation stocks are at a very low ebb in Europe. In addition to this, our national character is suffering greatly from frauds in packing our cotton, which is said to have increased to an alarming extent. Why should not those who are not ashamed to rob negroes, pilfer from the English, who are in general a —— set of abolitionists?

A GOOD IDEA.—A writer in the Boston Courier proposes that a world's convention from all civilized nations, assemble in London to discuss the question, how the poor and starving can be saved from misery, crime, and death.

Hard Sentence.—Joseph Ingraham, the lawyer who was recently arrested at Cleveland, Ohio, with quite a library of stolen law books, has been tried, convicted, and sentenced to the chain gang six months.

A Valuable Bank.—All the Florida Banks are now suspended and nerveless; the governor recommends the creation of a new one that *shall pay specie under all circumstances.*

Free Masons.—The legislature of Rhode Island has repealed the law which was passed against the Free-Masons in the times of anti-Masonic excitement.

Free-Labor Store.

EVERYTHING FOR SALE EXCEPT PRINCIPLES!!

THE subscriber informs the public that she will remove her store from Andrew's Bridge, to her store, house, near Penn's Grove meeting-house, in Upper Oxford township, Chester county; five miles from the former place. She intends keeping a general assortment of goods, exclusively free labor; manufactured by Charles Wise Charles Collins, and the committee of the Free Produce Society, much cheaper than heretofore.

Unbleached and bleached shirting muslins, of good quality. Manchester ginghams, of twelve different patterns, from 25 to 37 1-2 cents per yard. Canton flannel, white and colored; wadding, white and colored; table diaper; checks; bed ticking; knitting cotton; wick-yarn. Calicoes, of large and small figures. Hose, white and mixed. Manchester stripes, for men's wear. Blue and white drilling. Cotton umbrellas. Cassimeres, sattinets; flannels, white and colored; green baize. Good assortment of merinos, and rattanets. Irish linen, grass cloth, linen handkerchiefs, (white and figured,) long lawn, linen sheeting, and diaper. Home-made striped linen for pantaloons. Tow cloth for bags. Black and white crape; gauze, and blonde. Silk shawls, dress'kerchiefs, colored and white cashmere, figured black silk, valentia vest patterns, silk bombazine. Ribbons, sewing silk, and silk braid of all colors; saddler's silk; hair nets; silk mohair. Linen tapes and braids. Thread of all qualities and colors. Needles, pins, and buttons.

Groceries, chocolate, tea, spices, raisins; Laguira, Java, and St. Domingo coffee. Free sugar, molasses, and candy. Liquorice. Candles and oil; painter's oil; segars of best dry tobacco, made from Pennsylvania leaf. Thomsonian, and other medicines. Brushes, for sweeping, dusting, whitewashing, painting, and clothes. Bed-cord, twine, and shoe thread. Shoes, for men, women, and children. Glass, china, queensware, earthenware, and tin. Tools. Shovels, scythes, nails, screws, knives and forks, curry-combs &c &c. Boilers, furnaces, pots, pans, kettles, smoothing-irons, &c. &c. Ready-made clothing, for men, women, and children, constantly on hand, and made to order.

N. B. The store will be closed at this place, about the middle of 3d month, next; and opened at Penn's Grove, the 1st of 4th month.

ELIZABETH KENT.

Andrew's Bridge, 2d month 10th, 1842.

Popular English Periodicals,

Republished in New-York

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